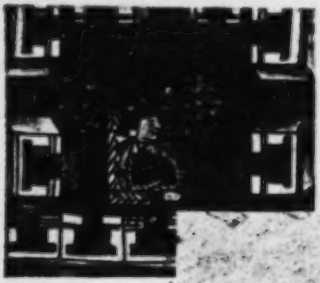
1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

531



Rich Man

[482]

Poor Man

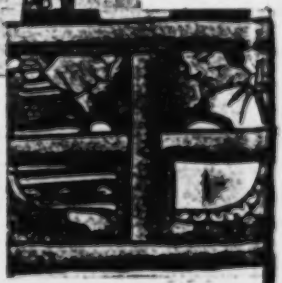
Beggar Man

[735]

Goldsmith

[326]

Thief



[685]

Feather Worker

[286]

Warriors

● [701 411 714]

PLATES 34-35

AZTEC SOCIETY AND COSTUME FROM

During the mid-sixteenth century the Spanish friar Bernardino de Sahagun made a famous study of the Aztecs, *Historia General de Nueva España*, which was not published until 1829. He had the Indians prepare copious illustrations to clarify his text, but they did not reach public circulation until 1905. The selections here show, besides the social division

[p. 112(B)]

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

affairs. Men of proven wisdom and experience taught the young in the *telpuchcalli*, or houses of youth. Others kept the records of tribute and wealth in the clan storehouses, superintended the distribution of this communal property and even went abroad to supervise its collection.

Each clan had its elected officers whose positions dominated the administration of the tribe. One official, the *calpullec*, performed the duties of secretary-treasurer and kept economic order within the kinship, drawing upon the members of the body for as much administrative assistance as his task required. Ranking with him, the *teochcautin* acted as sheriff, preserving social order and enforcing it. In wartime he commanded the military forces of the clan. Linking the clans to the tribe were the *tlatoani*, or "speakers," the supreme council, composed of a member from each clan and exercising judicial and directive functions. The wisest men and the most distinguished attained this post, for on them depended the well-being of the whole tribe. (See Plate 39, top right.)

Just as the clan had its executive officers, so this tribal body elected four officials who controlled the military forces of the four quarters, or phratries, into which the twenty clans were evenly divided. They maintained order among the clans and exercised tribal authority in disputes and crimes that could not be settled by the clan itself. Two were especially concerned with judicial matters; the third was an executioner, and the fourth acted as an intermediary between civil and military affairs.*

These four offices were the proving ground to test the abilities of the supreme chief and the religious leader. In Tlaxcala* it appears that they jointly exercised the executive

*Tlash-ca'-la.

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

701 643 [776] leadership. In Tenochtitlan the supreme chief, *tlacatecuhtli*, "chief of men," was always chosen from the four and often occupied first the position of "Snake Woman," a name also given to an important fertility goddess, Cihuacoatl.* The functions of these high chiefs are difficult to interpret in terms of Western civilization. Roughly the "chief of men" may be said to have represented the tribe in its external affairs, like war and alliances. As such the office had a greater significance to the Spanish observers who saw its holder as the leader of the tribe. The "Snake Woman" was the executive peak of the internal affairs of the tribe, where civil custom and religious demand governed almost every act. It is important to realize, however, that these chiefs could be deposed by the council at any time, if their services were unsatisfactory.

643 646 The continual election of such high officers from the same family or lineage, when democratic procedure obtained elsewhere, is harder to explain. Tradition is strong in primitive communities, and a family that produced one effective man might in the next generation produce another. The council in Tenochtitlan chose successive chiefs from a fairly wide range—brothers, sons, nephews and half brothers were scrutinized in the rigid proving ground of public service. Furthermore, a wise council, exercising its tremendous powers, could make a puppet "chief of men" seem effective as its representative in extratribal affairs. Even then, to be considered for election a person of privileged birth had to meet the long series of tests on which eminence was based.

441 463 Two other specialized fields were open to Aztec youth: trade and craftsmanship. Trade was a new development in

*Se'e-wah-co-atl.

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

776 were grouped into armies of the east and the west. Gladiatorial combats, often to the death, expressed this idea in [796 701] ritual; and the great warrior orders, the Eagle Knights of Huitzilopochtli and the Ocelot Knights of Tezcatlipoca, likewise reflected the conflict between day and night. This Sacred War permeated the ritual and philosophy of Aztec religion.* (See Plates 39, middle left; 40.)

While the great gods, the chief deities of the tribe, tended to be associated with the heavens, there were many others who controlled growth and fertility. Often these gods had goddesses as wives or companions, as if the idea of reproduction of the male and female principles were dawning in Aztec theology. Tlaloc, the Rain God, held sway over growth and vegetation, and his companion Chalchihuitlicue, (Our Lady of the Turquoise Skirt), presided over lakes and rivers. This goddess was the center of an important cult and is represented as a charming young girl beautifully dressed. Xipe (the Flayed One) symbolized spring, and his distinctive costume, a human skin, represented the new covering of vegetation with which the earth clothes itself each year. His priests, at the ceremonies in his honor, carried this sym- [796 782] bolism into their costume by donning the skins of freshly flayed captives. (See Plates 28, top left; 56, top right; 59, bottom left; 61, bottom left.)

The corn goddesses were young and lovely and probably derived from the old cult of the Middle Culture goddesses. Chicomecoatl,* (Seven Snake), was the Goddess of Crops and Subsistence, represented by corn, the staple food. Xilonen,† "Young Corn Mother," and Xochiquetzal,‡ "Flower

*Chee-co'-me-co-atl. ‡Sho-chee-kay-tza'l.
†Shee-lo'-nen.

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

727 individual warrior, which is not unlike that of the mediaeval 775 knight or career soldier in our own culture.[8] 782

721 The Aztec reasons for fighting and their social and moral 726 sanctions for war were not so very different from our own, except that we have many more, due to our superior rationalizations. The Aztec military technique, however, was definitely inferior, since it was not so completely developed a social tool as it is our own culture. The basic organization of the army required the participation of every able-bodied man under the direction of the war chief. However, as Aztec society grew more intricate and greater numbers of warriors took the field, the military structure became more rigid.

701 The unit of organization was an aggregation of twenty men, several of which were combined into larger bodies of two to four hundred, roughly corresponding to our platoons and companies. Special detachments of from four to six men, who did scouting and raiding, operated much as do the squads of our own military system. The clan commander marshaled the larger bodies, much as a colonel handles his regiment. The clan troops were banded together in four divisions under the heads of the four municipal quarters, and the tribal war chiefs had the supreme command. In a very numerous army the troops from a given quarter, or *barrio*, were sometimes divided into brigades, composed of the forces from two or three clans.[9]

The high tribal officers, the war chief, the chiefs of the quarters and the clan chiefs commanded the larger bodies. The ordinary chiefs and members of the warrior orders, the Knights of the Eagle and the Tiger and of a third infrequently mentioned order, the Arrow, according to their particular ability, took over the lesser units. In other words,

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

the executive officials of the tribe in peacetime became its military officers in time of war. There was no distinction made between the civil and military offices, since the tribe operated as an entity in both peace and war, and standing armies did not exist. (See Plate 34, bottom right.)

The soldiers were the able-bodied men of the tribe. The *telpuchcalli*, houses of youth, through which boys passed at the age of fifteen for formal instruction in the duties of manhood, taught them the usage of different weapons. Drill, in the sense of the accurate movements of modern troops, did not exist, but the great monthly ceremonies called for military demonstrations in which warriors showed their abilities and performed sham maneuvers. Each recruit followed an experienced warrior in battle, much as a mediaeval squire served an apprenticeship to a knight in full standing.

The chief offensive arms were wooden clubs, edged with sharp blades of obsidian, and the javelin, hurled by means of the *atl-atl*. Bows and arrows were used, but the heavier javelins were preferred for the close fighting of Aztec warfare. Slings and spears were weapons favored by some. For defensive armor shields of wickerwork covered with hide were most commonly in use, and some were elaborately painted or covered with feathers. The Aztecs also developed a body armor of quilted cotton, soaked in brine, which covered the whole body like an old-fashioned union suit. This was so effective a protection against clubs and missiles that the Spaniards rapidly adopted it, extolling it as cooler and lighter than steel armor.[7] Some warriors wore wooden helmets, which were elaborately carved to represent the insignia of the military orders. These had decorative rather than defensive values and added to the richness of costumes worn

maize;[26] with coyote heads made of a paste of amaranth seeds; with S-shaped *tortillas* and thick rolls[27] covered with a paste of amaranth seeds and with toasted maize on top; and red amaranth, which was really red feathers, and maize stalks with ears of green or tender maize.

After midday, the priests rested. Thereupon the Tenochca and the Tlatelulca came together, two rows of Tenochca and two rows of Tlatelulca facing each other. All danced very slowly; the dance proceeded in harmony. Then all emerged, coming out of the palace gate, and all arranged themselves. Moctezuma came forth with them; he came out dancing. At his right and left came two great princes, Neçahualpilli of Texcoco and Totoquihuaztli, ruler of the Tepaneca. Great solemnity reigned as all danced.

And when it was already dark, when it was already night, all dispersed. Then began the singing and dancing [with interlocked hands];[28] there danced the novice warriors, the chief warriors—those who had captured four captives or more, as well as those who had taken one or two. And these were named also young leaders. And also the princes danced. And likewise women danced with them—those known as mothers, but only if they wished; they were not forced. And also immodest women, harlots.

Also then all departed, when midnight was nigh, when trumpets had been blown. For twenty days it continued in this manner, until the Feast of Toçoztontli arrived.

cujllaxcalli, teumjmjlli, çan no tzoalli ic quipepechoaia, quimomochiotiaia panj: yoan ouubchichilli, çan tlapalujtl catca, yoan cintopilli, eloio, anoço xiloio.

Yn omotzcalo tonatiuh, mocetuja in tlamacazque, njman ie ic monepanuja, montlamanuja, in tenuchca in tlatlulca, vmpanti in tenuchca, no vmpanti in tlatlulca, mixnamjctiuj, cenca çan yujian, yn netotilo, cenca vel cooamantiuh in netotiliztli: njman oalquixoa intecpa qujiaoac, oalnemanalo, oalteujca in motecuçoma, oalmjtotitiuh, qujtzatzacuuuitze, qujoalitzcatitiuj, vmentin veuetintin tlatoque Neçaoalpilli tetzcuco, totoqujouztli, tepanecapan tlatoanj: vel mauiztli oonoc in nehtotiloia.

Auh ie tlaqoiaoa, ie tlaixcuecuetziuj in necacaoalo, njman ic peoa, in cujcoanolo, mjtotiaia in telpuchtequjoaque, teachcaoa, in nauj cacitinemj, yn anoce oc quezqujnti ymalhoan: yoã in ee, vme, cacitinemj. Auh no motocaiotiaia hy, telpuchiiaque: no yoan in tlatoque mitotia. Auh no tehoan in cioa mjtotia: mjtoa tenaoan, çan illo tlama, amo tequjuhtiloia: auh çan no iehoãtin yn aujianjme, in maaujltia.

Auh iquac necaoaloia, in ie hiciuhtiuh, icalnepantla tlatlapitzaliztli: cempoalilhuitl, yn iuh tlamanca, yn iuh tlamanja: vmpa onaci yn ipan toçoztontli.

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26. Cf. Paso y Troncoso, *op. cit.*, p. 199. ". . . *o dioce, los tamales de tamales de maiz que se guardaban para este fiesta celebrados por mucho tiempo con todo de los suso.*"

27. See Anderson and Dibble (*op. cit.*, p. 14). Possibly these resembled the wrapped loaves in Pl. 12.

28. Cf. Angel María Garibay K., *Llave del nahuatl* (Orizaba, Mexico: n. p., 1940), pp. 80, 219. Sahagún, in the corresponding Spanish text, says: "*pues trabados de los unos, unos dentando contra entrelazando.*"

ders, as far down as his armpits. This was called "the flowery garment."

And from both ears hung curved, gold, shell pendants.[9] And they fitted [his ears] with ear plugs made of a mosaic of turquoise. And [he wore] a shell necklace. Moreover, his breast ornament was of white sea shells.

And then his lip plug was a slender snail shell lip plug. And hanging from his shoulders was what was like a cord bag called *icpatzaoztli*.[10]

Then they placed golden bracelets on both upper arms, and on both wrists they put carved bracelets with precious stones, covering almost all the forearm. And he put on his net cape like a fish-net of wide mesh with a fringe of brown cotton thread.[11] And his costly breech cloth reached to the calves of his legs.

And then they placed his bells on both legs, all golden bells, called *oiouali*. These, as he ran, went jingling and ringing. Thus they resounded. And he had princely sandals with ocelot skin ears. Thus was arrayed he who died after one year.

When [the feast] of Toxcatl was drawing near, when it was approaching him, when it was coming to him, first they married him to [four] women whom they sought out [for him]. He was married in [the month of] Uey tozoztli.

And he left off, scattered in various places, and abandoned the ornaments he had had, in which he had walked about fasting, painted black. His hair was shorn; he was given a tuft of hair tied upon his forehead, like that of a war captain. Thus they bound [his hair], knotting it [with brown cotton thread] called *tochiacatl;* and they tied to his long hair[12] his forked heron feather ornament with single quetzal feathers attached.

Only twenty days he lived, lying with and married to the women. Four women he lived with, who also were cared for, for one year, in the guardian's house.

The first one was named Xochiquetzal; the second, Xilonen; the third, Atlatonan; the fourth, Uixtociuatl.

And still on the eve of [the feast of] Toxcatl, still five days from it, on the fifth day [before it], when

campa ic mapanaia, yciiacapa quiçquiztiaia: in motenexa xuchinecpâtli.

Auh yn jnacaztitech nenecoc pipilcatiojia teucujtlaxpcololli: yoan conaqujaia icoxiolnacoch, teuxiujtl in tlachicalli, tlaxiuhçalolli: yoan chipolcuxcatl, yn jcuxquj, oc cepa yielpanquxquj izxac cilin.

Auh njman ie yteçacauh, iteçacapiaz tecciztli: auh ycujtlapan pilcatiuh itoca Jcpatoxi, iuhquin icpaxiquipilli:

njman ie nenecoc teucujtlamatenecatl contlatlalitiuh in jacolpîi, yoan in nenecoc imaquechtlan, xinmaquiztli in contetecatiuh, achi vel quiztlatlamja yn jmatztoxopaz: auh çan ycuechin in quiquentiuh, iuhquin xoujlmatlatl ic cocoiaoac, tochiacatl ynic tentlaiaoalo: yoan ytlaçomaxtli quimettopeoa:

auh njman ie ycoiol nenecoc, icxic in contlalitiuh, muchi teucujtlatl in coiolli, mjtoa oiooali: iehoatl inic xaxamacatiuh, ynic tzitzilicatiuh, ynic caquiztiuh: yoan itzcac ocelunacace: yujn in muchichioaia, in iehoatl miquja ce xiujtl:

yn iquac ie oalacitiuh toxcatl, in ie itech ompachiuhtiuh, yn ie itech onacitiuh, achtopa tlapaliuhcatia, cihoatl quiztaia, mocioaostiaia ipan vey toçoztli.

Auh quitepeoaia, quiztlatlalizia, quicaoa, yn jnechichioal ocatca, yn ipan omotlilçauhtinenca, moxima, mjxquatzontia, iuhquinma iautequjoa, ontlalpia, ontlacuja: ynic ontlalpia, itoca tochiacatl, xittomonjlpitica: yoan yaztazel, quetzalmjiaoaio, itzotzocol itech quiJpia:

çan cempoalilhujtl in oncioacuchtinemi, yn oncioaoatinemj: naujntin in cioa q'nujcatinenca, no cexiuhtica in pialoia calpixcan:

y ce itoca xochiquetzal, ynjc vnc xilone, ynjc ey Atlatona, ynjc nauj, vixtocioatl.

Auh in ie itentla Toxcatl, oc macujltica, tlama-

796[1] 301

[306]

[292]

796[1] [584 545]

[302 701]

[293 301]

[833]

[551]

9. "Unos zarcillos de oro" (Sahagún: loc. cit.).

10. "Llevaban a las espaldas, en ornamento como bolsa, de un palmo en cuadro de lavor blanco, con sus borlas y flecadura" (loc. cit.).

11. Cf. Sahagún (Robredo edition), Vol. II, p. 339.

12. Cf. ibid., Vol. I, p. 143. The corresponding Spanish text, however, reads: "con una pluma cerrada, comunmente llamada amadero de los caballos, de forma que una sea hembra, hecha de plumas, y otra, y torcheando, macho cerrado, que sólo tiene plumas encima." Clark (op. cit., Vol. I, p. 98) describes "The finer kind of penaiths [which] has a design stuffed, by Sahagún, upwards inwards, because of the custom current in torchonial or red rabbit's fur; the ground of which[penaith] is a square of dark red, four squares of white feathers. The fringe is also of red torchonial." From this, it would appear that *torchonial* is red string, and *torchonial* a red thong of rabbit hide.

his vassals. Because verily there was much hunger; when dried maize was costly, then there was much want, [and] it was hard to gain a livelihood; [and] many then were our dead.

And until the time that the Feast Day of the Lords came, upon every day there was song. When singing and dancing began, [it was] toward e-ening, when only little sun shone. Thereupon fire was laid in the braziers; flame was put upon the braziers.

And the braziers were arranged and ordered in six rows, and in each row were ten [braziers] and [each] brazier was two fathoms thick; and each was as tall as one's hip.[3]

And thereupon all went forth from the house of song, coming singing and dancing. Between [pairs of men] came the women. Light women, harlots, chosen —picked out, set apart.

And they went together, they went taking by the hands the honored ones—the young chieftains, the leaders of the young men, and those with short hair, the Otomí, and the noblemen [not warriors. These last] were not arranged in order; of their own free will they placed themselves near the others.

And richly were the women arrayed and bedight; all good were the skirts and shirts which they had put on. Of their skirts, some had [designs of] hearts, some were [embroidered] with a mat design like birds' gizzards, some were ornamented like coverlets, some had spiral or leaf [designs], some were of plain, fine weave. All had borders and fringes; all [the women] wore skirts with borders.

And of their skirts, some had brown [streamers] hanging, some had smoke symbols, some had black [streamers] hanging, some had house designs, some had fish [patterns], some were of plain, fine weave. And the neck [openings] were all large, and their borders were also deep and wide.

And when they danced, they unbound their hair; their hair covered them like a cloak. But they brought braids of their hair across their foreheads.

And they were not decked with feathers; neither were their faces adorned with paint.

And thus were bedecked the chieftains: their array consisted of the cloak of netting. And the brave warriors, they who had straw lip plugs, they had white net cloaks with shells set in fish patterns. [These] were called their vermillion net cloaks.

cenca maianalcóa, in iquac cenca tlaçoua in tlaolli, cenca oncá mjhiioviaia, mociavia: cenca vncá tomjqujan catca.

Auh in jxqujchica oalaci tecujlhujtl, izqujlhujtl cujcoia: im peoaia cujcoanalíztli, cenca ça achiton tonatiuh, cenca ça pepetzcatica in tonatiuh: njman ie ic tletteco tlaviltec, ipan in tlavilteti motlatlalia tleti.

Auh in tlavilteti viuipantoca, tetecpantoca, chiquacenpantitoca: auh in cempantli, matlatlateti, actimanca: auh ynjc totomaoac catca tlaujlteti, hoontlacujtlanaoatectli: auh ynjc quaqtaiuhtic catca, cecen quapantli:

auh in ie iuhquj, mec oalquixoa, in cujcacali, cujcatiujtze, mjtotiiujtze, intzatzalan actiujtze in cioa: iehoantin in mauiltia, yn aujenjme: iehoantin in tlatzonanti, in tlapepenti, in tlacenquixtilti:

auh yn quinnaualmictia, yn inmatitech quimantiuj, çan iehoantin in mauiztililonj in teachcaoan, yoan in telpochtequjoaque, yoan in quaquachicti, yn otomj, yoan in pipilti: amo tehoan motecpana, çan jllotlama, incâpa onmoquetza tetlan.

Auh in cioa uel mocencaoa, vel moiecchichioa, much qualli in conmaquja, yn jncue, yn jvipil: yn ihcue cequj iollo, cequj totolitipetlaio, cequj cacamolinhquj, cequj ilacatziuhquj, anoço tlatzcallotl, cequj çan petztic, muchi tene, muchi tlatenio, muchi cuetenio.

Auh yn invipil, cequj quappachpipilcac, cequj pocuipilli, cequj pocujpilli, cequj iapalpipilcac, cequj cacallo, cequj mjmjchcho, cequj çan petztic. Auh yn jtozquj much uetei: yoan yn iten cenca no papatlaoac, papatlactic.

Auh yn iquac mjtotia, qujtoma yn jntzon, çan intzon quiquequentinemj: auh yn jntzon ipiloaz, ymixquac quioaltaca.

Auh amo mopotonja, amono mozaoa.

Auh ynic muchichioaia in teachcaoan, yn jnnechichioal catca, ichoatl in cuechintli: auh in tiacaoan, in teçacaoaque, ymiztaccuechin cilin ynic mjmjchcho, motocaiotia innochpalcuechin.

3. Cf. corresponding Spanish text. Literally, Aeuallenejtoznaeuelli may be rendered "two can take [it] in their embrace." For eleven quapantli, Sahagún has "ten cotton."

X 796 778 and long rows of all the varied flowers, the most beautiful flowers, the threaded ones.

Then flowers were offered to all the rest of the gods, to the images of the gods, [or] devils. They were adorned with flowers; they were girt with [garlands of] them; flowers were placed upon their heads, there in the temples.

nepapan xuchitl, in tlapexochitl, in manoxi, in tlamatli:

njman ie ic tenuchimaca, cenvetzi in inquichtin tetea, yn inixiptlaoan tetea, tlatlacatecolo, tenuchtilo, tenuchiapano, teicpacxochitilo, in vncan in tetenpan:

Thereupon all together, in all the houses, the homes of the majordomos, the homes of the great noblemen, and the houses of the youths, they laid flowers out [before the idols]. And they spread them out in the homes of each and all.

njman ie ic cenvetzi in noujan calpan, in calpinque inchan, in vnnei pipilti inchan: yoan in tetelpuchcali, quiconitacotimanj, quiconitacotimomana in techachan.

X 796 535 And afterwards, when each had been ornamented, then there were feasting and drinking. Everywhere, everyone ate; all were in a festive mood.

Auh in ie iuhquj yn otecencacuiloc mec tlatlapualo, haatlioc: noujan tlatlapualo, yilhujtlamacho.

And when midday came, then all sang and danced —verily, they drew up all the youths; the masters and the leaders of the young men, the seasoned warriors, the fearless warriors, the Otomí.[4] Here in the god's courtyard there was dancing—in the courtyard of [the Temple of] Uitzilopochtli.

Auh yn oacic nepantla tonatiuh mec cujoiauiloo, vel inquich quiconcaoa, in telpuchtli, in tenchcaoan, in telpuchiaque, in tequioque, in quaquachictin, in otomj: vncan in netotilo in tenitocaloo, yn itoaloo Vitzilopochtli.

● [701] And those who led [the dance] were the fearless warriors, the great warriors, each of whom was considered [equal to] a battle squadron, who were not laggards in war; who turned [the enemy] back, [whose exploits] wheeled them hence.

Auh in teiacana, iehoantin in quaquachicti, in veuei tiacauh yn iuhquj cecentecuti momatia, yn amo mitzacujlia ioc, in tecuepanj, in temalacachoenj.

[548] Also the women danced—not the daughters [of onlookers, but] courtesans, harlots—who went between [pairs of the men], they were [all] stretched in a row, taken by the hand or grasped about the waist. They moved all in line: they went winding to and fro, nowhere breaking the line, at no time loosing hands. They went in orderly procession.

No iehoantin in cioa mjeteiaia, amo iehoan in teichpuchoan, iehoantin in mahaujltianj, yn avianjme intzatzalan mantiuj, inmatitech maantiuj, mocujtlanaoa, çan cenpanti, çan cenpantitiuj, mococolotiuj, acan cotonj, acan momacaoa vipantiuj.

[533] And the singers, who sang for them, who beat drums for them, who beat the ground drums, were quite apart [from the dancers]—to one side; they were upon a [counterfeit] house, upon the round altar [or pyramid].[4] And the altar was completely round, round like a shield, like a millstone. And here, upon this, stood [the musicians].

Auh in cujcanjme, in quincujcatia, in quintlatzotzonjlia, quinuecuetzotzonjlia, çan nonoqua, çan chico, caltech in manj, emonontitech: auh in monontli, çan iocaltic, teujlacachtic, malacachtic, yn jtech, yn itlan manj.

[778]

And thus they danced: they did not leap, nor make great movements; they did not make dance gestures; they did not move throwing themselves about, nor dance making arm-movements, nor go bending their

Auh ynic mjtotia, amo chocholoa, amono ontlayioca, amo ontlayiauhtiuj, amo motlatlaztiuj, amo

[701] 3. Here and elsewhere, the following equivalents are offered: quaquachictli—fearless warrior; cujoiauiloo—youth; tlacatecolo—master of the youths; tequioque—valor of the youths; telpuchtlatoque—leader of the youths; tequioque or yaomiquiuan—seasoned warrior. To a degree, each definition was based on arbitrary. The suggested equivalents, however, are based upon the following passages from Siahagún (Bustamante, ed.): Vol. I, pp. 292, and Vol. II, pp. 157, 267 (quaquachictin, tequioque); Vol. I, pp. 132, 168, 182, 199, 215, 289, 291, and Vol. II, p. 102 (telpuchtli); Vol. I, pp. 168, 291, and Vol. II, pp. 310, 319 (tlacatecolo); Vol. I, p. 291 (telpuchtlatoque); Vol. II, p. 321 (yaomiquiuan). See also Clark, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 94, on *otomi* and *quaquachictli*; pp. 89, 116, on *tlacatecolo*, *telpuchtlatoque*; Vol. II, pp. 32, 95, 96, 136 on *tequioque* or *yaomiquiuan*; Garibay (*Llave del nahuatl*, p. 243) on *telpuchtli*; Soler, *op. cit.*, p. 158 (*telpuchtlatoque*), p. 144 (*tequioque*), pp. 144, 158 (*telpuchtlatoque*).

4. Cf. Soler, *op. cit.*, p. 158.

And all the men, whether leaders of youths, or youths, had only black net cloaks, all with eyelets on the border, and all had turquoise [ear plugs].

And those who led had only bell-shaped ear plugs.[4] And those who had bell-shaped ear plugs, also had lip plugs. Some were like lizards, some like dogs, some like a broad-leafed water plant, some rectangular.

And the youths who already wore [their] hair long [in token of war exploits] had lip plugs which were rounded.

And all the [others] who were only youths [had] only circular lip plugs, which they set in place.

And the leaders of the youths bore breast plates made of small, white, sea shells. And those with shorn hair, the Otomí, wore their neck bands with round pendants.[5] These were shells.

And the shorn ones were provided with bird-formed lip plugs; and the Otomí were decked with lip plugs formed like the broad leaf of a water plant.

And those who were diligent to be leaders of the youths bought themselves real sea shell neck bands, all clear and limpid. And the lower class bought themselves [common] shell-fish for their neck bands, [which were] only yellow, not hard, and not very costly.

And those who had taken captives, the leaders of the youths, carried their feather shoulder devices in the form of birds. They carried them upright over their heads.

And the captains carried upon their shoulders feather devices [formed like] trees, tied in three places with eagle feather clusters bound with ocelot skin. And at the base they were wound in three places with red string.

And some raised up quetzal feathers in the form of corn silk; some a forked heron feather ornament; some set up the head plumage in bird form; some the device made of diverse quetzal feathers.

And upon their legs, upon their left legs, they placed hooves, real deer hooves. And the thong was of real deer skin, cut thin, cut into narrow strips.

And thus were they variously painted: Some placed a black stain upon their cheeks, called "black cheek ash vase," and laid pyrites [upon the stain]. And some had a black [stripe] upon their foreheads, [in

Auh in iuquich tlacatl in çaçan tlacaxeli, telpopuchti: çan tlilticc yn jncuechin, muchi tenjzo, yoan muchintin inxiiciuh:

auh in tlaiacatia, çan incocoiolnacoch: auh in cocoiolnacoche: auh yn jntenpilol, quinaamictia, cequj aujtlatzdi, cequj itzcujntenpilolli, cequj apatlactli, anoço tlaxantectli.

Auh yn telpopuchtin, in ie tzotzocolcque, ymaxchichilacachtempilol:

auh yn iuquich tlacatl in çan telpopuchti, çan iehoatl yn aiaoaltempilolli in contlalia.

Auh in texchcaoan, ymelpancuzquj, ymelpancuzquj, cilin in tlachioalli: auh in quaquachictin, yn otomj, incuzcachachapec: iehoatl in chipulin.

Auh yn quaquachicti qujnamjctia, iehoatl in tzotzontenpilolli: auh yn otomj qujnamjctiaia, iehoatl yn apatlactli tenpilolli.

Auh yn aquique in motecencmati, in tiacaoan, qujmococouja teuchipuli in cuzcatl, cenca chipaoac: auh in ça tlatzacuja in ça tlatoquaia, iehoatl yn achipulin qujmocoujaia, yn incuzquj, çan cuztic, amono tlaquaoac, amono cenca patio.

Auh in tlamanjme, in telpuchiaque, intototlamanal, in cõquequetzaltinemj yn imicpac.

Auh in tequjoaque, quauhtzontli in qujmamaia, ezcan yietiuh, quauhtlalpilonj, ocelueoatica in tlaqujmilolli: auh in itzintlã ezcan in chichilicpatica tlacujxtli.

Auh in cequjntin, xilozochiquetzalli in conquetza in cequjntin aztaxelli, in cequjntin quatotol in conquetza, in cequjnti ymtlatlachichioalquetzal.

Auh yn imicxic ymopuchcopa in cõtlaliaia chucholli, vel iehoatl in maçachocholli: auh yn jmecaio, çan no iehoatl yn maçacatl, tlapitzaoacatectli, tlapitzaoacaxotlalli.

Auh ynic mjchioaia, mjiec tlamantli, cequjtin tlilli incamapan contlaliaia, itoca tlilcamanexcomjtl, ca petzujaia: auh in cequjntin ymixquac qujujca in tlilli, in nacaztitlan conaxitia, motocaiotia tlilitzotl,

4. In the corresponding Spanish text, *Sahagún* mentions copper, which may have been the material of which the bells were made.
5. Seler (*op. cit.*, p. 144) has drawn Perlenfädchen for pearls on the feathers.

874 **Fifth Chapter, which telleth of the customs which they practised and observed in order to live there, where they were reared and ripened [in] the young men's house.**

And when he entered the young men's house, then [the leaders] charged him with sweeping [of the house] and with the laying of fires. And then they had him begin the penances. When there was singing at night (which was called song with dance), there he consorted with the others, he danced with the others. With the others there was conversation; songs were composed.

And when [he was] yet an untried youth,[1] then they took him into the forest. They had him bear upon his back what they called logs[2] of wood—perchance now only one, or, then, two. Thus they tested whether perhaps he might do well in war when, still an untried youth, they took him into battle. He only went to carry a shield upon his back.

And when [he was] already a youth, if mature and prudent, if he was discreet in his talking, and especially if [he was] of good heart, then he was made a master of youths; he was named *tiachcauh*. And if he became valiant, if he reached manhood, then he was named ruler of youths (*telpochtlato*). He governed them all; he spoke for all the youths. If one [of them] sinned, this one judged him; he sentenced [the youths] and corrected them. He dealt justice.

874 701 **And if he was brave, if he took four [captives], then he attained [the office of] commanding general,[3] [or] chief.[4] And also [in those days] one rose to be called constable.[5] Today it is the same, and he is known as *alguacil* [or. constable], he who**

Iujc. 5. capítulo: itechpa tlatoa intlamanitilin, ynjc vncan nenca, in quichioaia in quitequipanoaia yn vncã mocalchiaia mocopaoaia telpuchcali.

Auh in iquac ocalac in telpuchcali, niman vel quitequitia in tlachpanalli, in tletlaliliztli. auh njman conpeoaltia in tlamaceoalizt li: yn iquac cujco iooaltica (in mjtoa: cuicaoaolo), vncan tehoan nemj, tehoan mjtoia, tehoan mjtoa cujcojanoja.

auh in ie telpuchtontli, njman quivica in quauhtla, quimamaltia, in quilhuja mimiliuhquj quavitl, aço çan oc centetl, anoço niman vncan ontetl ic qujeiecoa, yn aço ie vel aciz iooc, in ie vel telpuchticationtli, quivica in iooc, çan oc chimalli in qujmamatiuh.

auh in ie vel telpuchtli, intla moccalia, intla mimati, in tlauhmelaooc. auh oc cenca iehoatl intla iknoio yiollo, njman tachcauhtlalilia, tocaiotilo, Tiachcauh, auh intla ovelmacic oqujchtli, intla oc cenca moccalia, niman tocaiotilo Telpuchtlato, quincenpachoa, quincẽtlatalhuja in inqujchtin telpuchtin, in oc tlatlacoa, iehoatl quitlatzontequilia, q'ntlatzontequilia, quintlatlalilia, quichioa Justicia:

auh intla oquichti intla navi mani, vncan quiça in tlacatecatl, in tlacochcalcatl, in quiauhtlato: auh no vncan quiça, in quilhuja achcauhtli, yn axcan ipan povi, ipan momati in alguaçil, in tepile, ca no intoto-

1. Corresponding Spanish text: "*a los quinze años.*"
2. *Mandhaqui quauitl*: literally, round wood.
3. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, Book II, p. 114, n. 13. The corresponding Spanish text here "*regidor, y governador al pueblo.*" Sahagún, in *Biologo Español*, p. 343, translates *tlacatecatl* as lord of the dominion, and in *Collected Works*, II, Pt. 3, pp. 85-86, describes him as an officer of justice, a messenger, a military captain—offices given him like by the rulers, other rebels they appointed to the latter. He also says *tlacochcalcatl* is the same as *tiachcauh*. Durán calls him "*gobernador, ó comendador, ó otro superiore dicado*" (*op. cit.*, p. 124). Simeon (*op. cit.*) defines it as "*Titre accordé au soldat valeureux qui avait fait quatre captifs à la guerre; un dignité accordé au vaillant qui commandait un corps de 8,000 hommes, appelé ciquipilli* (Ixtl., Clav.)."
4. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, *loc. cit.* Sahagún, in *Biologo Español*, translates as lord of the upper house, and in *Collected Works*, *loc. cit.*, identifies him as the same as the *tlacatecatl*. He adds that four chiefs held the highest rôles, directed the four main divisions of the Mexican tribe, and conducted the king's special councils; these were the *cuep cuecuel*, the *tlacatecatl*, the *tlacochcalcatl*, and the fifth *calpixcatl*. Simeon (*op. cit.*) defines the *cuchcalcatl* as "*Magistrat, juge en matière civile*," and also as "*général, capitaine*."
5. Simeon (*op. cit.*): "*Un dignitaire ainsi le soldat qui avait fait quatre captifs à la guerre; un dignité accordé par ce fait le chef de cent gens* (Ixtl.)."
6. Corresponding Spanish text: "*son como agora alguazil, y tenjan otros grados, y prendia a los delinquentes, y los ponja en la carcel.*"

-53-

874
[701]

beareth a staff. For also [in times past] they had staves; and formerly these [officers] seized one and thrust one in jail.

These were all the honors and preferments which the youths [could obtain].

874

And in this way of life, few showed understanding and were persevering. Without number were those who were known as young [warriors]. Because in truth the life of the youth was not harsh. For when yet small boys they all slept together in that place which they called the young men's house, where they lived all together.

And he who was absent, who slept not in the young men's house, him they punished. And they ate in their homes. And they went about together where they had anything to do—perchance [preparing] mud[7] [for *adobes*, making] walls, cultivating the soil, [digging] canals; they did these going all together, or they divided up. And they went into the forest, and gathered and carried on their backs what they named torches for the song house.

And when only a little sun [was left in the afternoon], they quit whatever they did. Then they prepared and adorned themselves. First they bathed themselves; then they rubbed [black on] themselves, but not—they say—their faces. Then they put on their neck bands.

874
301

The [valiant] men and chiefs put on neck bands of large sea shells, or of gold; they put on netted capes and leather corselets.[8] Then they painted their faces [with black stripes]. It was said, they applied black sweat to themselves. And they pasted on iron pyrites. As one's adornment, ear plugs were set in; turquoise ear plugs were worn. Heron feathers were applied; netted capes were worn. This netted cape [was made of] twisted *maguey* fiber, knotted like a net with small shells [attached]. The chiefs had golden shells in their netted capes. Of the net capes of the shorn ones, it was said, "They are provided with fruit." For this reason it was said, "They are provided with fruit"—[that] very large fiber balls hung from them by strings.

874
535

When the sun had already set, then they laid a fire [at the place] called the song house. On the hearth the youths laid the fire. When it was already dark, then was begun the singing. Everyone danced

pil catca, yoan in ça ie ichoantin in onteilpiaia, in quauhcalco ontetlaliaia,

yzquich y, in jnpauetziliz, in inpauechiliz in telpupuchti.

auh injn nemiliztli amo çan quexquichtin in ipan nenca, in ipan mocapacaia, amo çã tlapoalti in motocaiotiaia telpupuchti, ipampa ca çan njmã amo tecoco in jnnemiliz in telpupuchti, ca in oc pipiltotonti, vncan cencochi in quilhuja telpuchcali vncan cemonoque.

auh in aquin poliuja, in amo telpuchcalco cochi, quitlatzacujltiaia, yoan inchan ontlaqua. auh cemololiuhtiui in canpa tlein quichioa, in aço pololli, tepantli, cuemitl, apantli, quichioa, motquititui, anoço mozexeloa. auh quzuhtla uj, concuj, conmama in quilhuia cuicatlauilli:

auh i ça achi tonatiuh quicaoa in tlein quichioa, njman mocencaoa, muchichioa, achtopa mahaltia, njman môça, amo no quilhuja in inxaiac nima mococzcatia.

Yn oquichtin in tiacaoan, vevej chipoli in qujmococzcatia, anoço teucujtlacozcatl, motlacuechmanilia, motlaeoatimanilia, njman mjchio, mjtoaia motlilizotia hapetztli ic conpotonja, in jnechioal, monacochtia, moxixjuhnacochtia, mozcatia, mochalcacatia, ynjn chalcaiatl tlamalintli in jcpatl, tlatlalpitl, iuhqujn matlatl cillo, in tlatoque teucujtlacillo in jnchalcaaiauh, in quaquachicti inchalcaisuh mjtoa xoxocoio, ynjc mjtoa xoxocoio, veveypupul in itech qujpipiloa icpatetl,

yn iẽc ie onaqui tonatiuh njman tleteca in quilhuja cujcacalco, tlehquazco in tletletlalia telpupuchti, in ie tlaixmiqui, niman peoalo in cujco, muchi tlacatl

7. The word *pahtli*, as used elsewhere in Sahagún, appears to mean to make *adobes*.

8. In *Ensayo Kupiné* (p. 344, n. 1), Beler offers a variant for *motlacuechmanilia* and *motlaeoatimanilia*. *Cuechli* and *ecatl*, however, may be warriors' garments, as here translated.

horizontal drum, from which was hung a small water gourd. Hence it was said, "A water gourd hangeth."

When they reached the place of the skull frame, then [the wearer of the skin of the likeness of Toci] tramped upon her drum.[11] And the seasoned warriors already awaited [Cinteotl]. Now he departed, in order to bear his mask, made of the skin flayed from the leg [of the woman who had represented Toci], off to the enemy's land. Then the chiefs went surrounding him—strong, swift men who ran fast.

And when they who there placed [the mask] had gone to attain the land of the foe, up on the mountain top, one of the side-peaks of Iztac tepetl, a place called Popotl temi, not without struggle did they put it in its place; for [the foe] set upon them; or else they pursued [the enemy]. On both sides [men] were slain.

And when they had gone about setting the mask fashioned from the skin of the thigh [of Toci's likeness] upon a wooden frame,[12] then all went hence. And the foe likewise departed.

And when this was done, when [the wearer of the skin of the impersonator of] Toci had accompanied [home] her son [Cinteotl], thereupon she went to her home, there at Atempan. Then there assembled the chieftains, all the fearless warriors, the leading warriors, the generals, the commanding generals,[13] and all the seasoned warriors, the chosen ones, the respected, the chiefs—who of their own free will were valiant, who set no value upon their heads and their breasts, who feared not death, who in truth hurled themselves upon our foes.

And after this, when they all had assembled in a body, then all were arranged in order, in well-ranked columns, before Moctezuma, who was seated upon his eagle mat. This was verily the skin [with feathers] of an eagle upon which he was seated, and he reclined upon a seat with an ocelot [skin] backrest. It was in truth ocelot hide with which the seat was covered.

quiztotzontivi in teponaztontli, itech tlaçalolli, atecontontli: ie injc moteneoa, tecomapilca.

In oacito tzompantitlan: njmã ic conjoça in jvevetih: auh in tequjoaque, ie qujchixtoque: vncan oneoa in jmexxaiac injc qujcaoazque iauc: vncã oneoa cololhujtivi in tiacaoan, in chicaoaque, in tlaçanj: cenca motlaloa.

Auh in oacito, in vmpa contlalianj in iaupan, in vmpa tepeticpac: inacaztlan in iztac tepetl: itocaiocan, popotl temj: aivian in contlalia, qujnoaltoca: anoce quintoca, necoc mjcoa.

Auh in ocõtlalito quauhticpac, in jmexxaiac: mec viloatz, mec no vi in teiauoan.

Auh in ie iuhquj, in ichoatl Toci: in ocõcaouto, iconeuh: njman ie ic iauh in jchan, in vmpa atempã, njmã ic cenqujxoa in tiacaoã, in jxqujchtin quaquachictin, in quaquauhiaca, in tlatlacochcalca, in tlatlacatecca: yoan in ie ixquichtin tequjoaque, in tlatzonanti, in ovelittoque in tiacaoan, in jiolloco chicaoaque, in amo quitlaçotla in intzontecon, in jmelchiqujuh, in amo mjquixmauhtj, in vel in ca momotla in toiauoan.

Auh in ie iuhquj, in ocenquixoac: njmã ic ixpan onnevipanalo, onnecenpãtililo, in jxpã Motecuçoma, ichoatica quauhpetlapan, vel ichoatl in quauhtli, tlaxipeoalli in jpan ecatica, yoan ocelotepotzoicpalli in jpan motlaztica, vel ie in ocelotl yiecaio, injc tlaquimjlolli icpalli:

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11. Garibay (*op. cit.*, p. 306) translates *ic nauiteuaya iteuiuh quiiua in ome que ce dada*: "*golpea su tambor.*" The corresponding Spanish text supplies one of the lost (*pues*).

12. See note 22.

13. The importance of these officers above warriors, chiefs, and so on, is suggested by the following passages / in Sahagún (Robredo ed.), Vol. II:

". . . *aquellos que han de tener cargo de regir la republica, o han de ser tlacatecatl, o tlacochcalcatl, dadles habilidad para que sean padres y madres de la gente de guerra, que anden por las campos y por las montes, y sobre las rocas, y desviadlos a las barrancas, y en su mano ha de estar el enseñarlos a matar a los enemigos y criminosos. . . .*" (p. 53).

". . . *los padres y madres del mal, que se llaman tlacatecatl (y) tlacochcalcatl, que tienen cargo de dar de beber y comer al sol y a la tierra, con la sangre y carne de sus enemigos: estos son los que tienen por oficio la rodela y las armas, y allí mueren las aves y las bestias fieras, y las bocas de la cabeza y las aperas de las quijadas. . . .*" (p. 163).

". . . *sobre los soldados y capitanes había dos principales que las regían, el uno era tlacatecatl y el otro tlacochcalcatl; el uno de los dichos era pais y el otro principal en las cosas de la guerra, y siempre parecían un noble con un soldado para estos oficios. También para capitanear generales de las cosas de la guerra parecían dos, uno noble, o grandes y del palacio, y otro valiente, y muy ejercitado en la guerra, el uno de estos se llamaba tlacatecatl y el otro tlacochcalcatl; estos entendían las cosas de la guerra, y en ordenar todas las cosas que concernían a la milicia*" (p. 167).

532
[796
643]

[366
262]
415]

[643
701]
431]

—After Paso y Troncoso

93, 94. Ceremonies on election of a new ruler (Chapter 18). 95, 96. Goods displayed in the market place (Chapter 19). 97-100. Gifts of the ruler to successful warriors (Chapters 20 and 21).

[p. 36(O)]

[p. 36(N) is blank]

532

[291
302]

[643
714]

[283
286]

[701
714
793
411]

[723]

—*After Paso y Troncoso*

72-74. Women's *array—cueitl* (Chapter 15). 75. Weaving and spinning equipment (Chapter 16). 76. Laying plans for *war* (Chapter 17). 77. The ruler's *war array* (Chapter 17). 78. Priests and warriors in battle array (Chapter 17).

[p. 36(I)]

[p. 36(H) is blank]

adultery. They accused him before Moctezuma, who then condemned him to be stoned before the people.

FOURTH PARAGRAPH, in which is discussed the council chamber of the brave warriors devoted to war.

Tequiuacacalli or Quauhcalli: there were the brave warriors, the generals, and the commanding generals,[9] whose personal charge was command in war.

Achcauhcalli: there were the constables, the brave warriors who were the ruler's executioners. These who brought to an end [the life of] any upon whom sentence had fallen [were] the Quauhnochtli, Atempanecatl, and Tezcacoacatl. And if they erred in something, they exacted the penalty of them and they died.

Cuicacalli: there were the masters of the youths and the rulers of the youths, there established in order to oversee what was by way of work. And every day, when the sun had already set, they turned their attention to dances. They went quite naked. So they went to the house of songs; so they danced with song, proceeding with, about their necks, only [a cape] made like a net. They set in place and proceeded with their forked heron feather ornaments and the red cord with which they bound their hair: and [they had] their turquoise ear plugs and sea shell lip pendants. All the youths, when they danced and sang, ceased when it was well into the night, when for the *first* time the *fire* priests and [other] priests blew the shell trumpets. None of [the youths] entered their homes; none slept at home. Rather, they went straight to the young men's houses, which were everywhere. There they slept, stretched out quite naked. Only little did they sleep. On the morrow, when it was still dark, they set forth, to lodge in the house of the ruler.

And when the ruler knew something ill of them—either drunkenness or concubinage;[10] or that they wrought something to their advantage behind the back of the ruler; [or] that without his command they levied tribute on the town, perchance of chocolate, or of food, which became a tribute, and it was done without leave, and [that] they exacted as tribute whatsoever they wished, then the ruler commanded that they be jailed in wooden cages. He condemned them to pay the penalty; perchance they strangled

pan motecuçuma, njman qujcallatzontequjli, injc 672 565 684
teixpan tetepacholoc.

IC NAUJ PARRAPHO, vncan mjtoa in jnnenotzaia in tiacahoan in jpampa iaujotl. 672

Tequjoacatcalli, quauhcalli, vncan catca in tiacaoan 701
tlacochcalcatl tlacatecatl, in jnneixcaujl iautequj:

Achcauhcalli vncan catca in achcacauhti in tiaca- 696
hoan in jtemjcticaoan catca tlatoanj, iehoantin quj-
tzonqujxtiaia in ixqujn tlein ipan omotzontec, quauh-
nochtli, atempanecatl, tezcacoacatl, auh in jtla
qujtlacoaia, qujtzacutiuja mjquja.

Cujcacalli, vncan catca in tiachcahoan, in telpuch- 561
tlatoque vncan tlatecpanoaia injc qujchiaia tlein [624]
tequjtl, auh in momuztlac, in jquac ie calaquj tona-
tiuh: tlamaçeoaliztli ipan qujmatia, çan petlauhtiuja, 535
injc viia cujcacali, injc oncujcoanoaia çanijo inquech [291]
in onactiuja, iuhqujn matlatl ic tlachiuhtli, imaztaxel
conmantiuj, tochcatl injc quilpia intzonchichilic-
patl: ioan ixiuhnacoch, ioan intempilol eptli, ixqujch [301]
in telpuchtli in oncujcoanoia icoac necaoaloia in tla-
quauh tlapoiaoa, in jcoac iancujcan tlapitzaia tlena-
macaque tlamacazque, amo ac ichan calaquja, amo
ac ichan oncochia, ca njman vmpa tlamelaoaia, in
noujian telpuchcalli mamanca: in oncan cochia, çan
pepetlauhtoca, çan achi in concochia, momuztlac in
oc ioboan quiça in ontecpanoa, yn ichan tlatoanj. [342]

[513]

Auh in jcoac itla qujnmachilia in tlatoanj, aço 561
tlaoanaliztli, anoço nemecatiliztli, anoço itla icampa 681
qujqujxtia, in tlatoanj: in amo itencopa, itla qujtete-
qujtia in calla aço atl, tlaqualli tequjpan iecauj,
moiocoia, qujtetequjtia injc intech monequj, njman
tlanaoatia in tlatoanj, quauhcalco qujntlalia, qujntla-
tzontequjlia, injc qujtzacutiui, aço qujnmecanja,
anoço qujntetepachoa, anoço quauhtica qujnujujte-
quj teixpan, injc mjctilo, injc maujxtli qujteca
tlatoanj.

9. *Tlacochcalcatl, decurions*: see Sahagún, *op. cit.*, III, p. 27; Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 70; Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, II, p. 182, n. 3; III, pp. 57-58.
10. *After nemecatiliztli*, the *Real Academia de la Historia MS* has *enaçe tetlaocoliztli—or adultery.*

643 the seasoned warriors, the fearless warriors, the
701 Otomí, and the noblemen who dwelt in the young men's houses.

721 And when it had come to pass that the ruler adorned them, when he had done this to the brave warriors, then the ruler ordered all the majordomos to bear their goods, all the costly devices, and all the valuable capes there to battle, that the ruler might offer and endow with favors all the [other] rulers, and the noblemen, and the brave warriors, the men [at arms] who were about to go to war, who were to be extended as if made into a wall of men dexterous with arms. And the ruler forthwith called upon the rulers of Texcoco and Tlacopan and the rulers in all the swamp lands, and notified them to proclaim war in order to destroy a [certain] city. He presented them all with costly capes, and he gave them all insignia of great price. Then he also ordered the common folk[1] to rise to go forth to war.-Before them would go marching the brave warriors, the men [at arms], the lord general, and the commanding general.

726 The lords of the sun, it was said, took charge and directed in war. All the priests, the keepers of the gods, took the lead; they bore their gods upon their backs, and, by the space of one day, marched ahead of all the brave warriors and the seasoned warriors. These also marched one day ahead of all the warriors of Tenochtitlan. Again these marched one day ahead of all the warriors of Tlatilulco. These also marched one day ahead of all the men of Acolhuacan, who likewise marched one day ahead of all the Tepaneca, who similarly marched one day ahead of the men of Xilotepec; and these also marched one day ahead of all the so-called Quaquata. In like manner the [men of] other cities were disposed. They followed the road slowly and carefully.

And when the warlike lands[2] were reached, the brave warrior generals and commanding generals then showed the others the way and arranged them in order. No one might break ranks or crowd in [687] among the others; they would then and there slay or beat whoever would bring confusion or crowd in among the others. All the warriors were extended there, until the moment that Yacauitztli, [god of] the night, would descend—that darkness would fall.

tiacahoan, in oquichtin, in tequjoaque, in quaquachicti, in otomj: ioan in telpuchnemj in pipilti.

auh in ie iubquj, in otecencauh tlatoanj, in tiacauh, in iuh oquichiuh. Niman quinnaoatia, in tlatoanj: in jxquichtin calpixque, injc intlatquj ietiaz; in jxquich tlaçotlanquj, tlaujztli: ioan in jxquich tlaçotilmatli, in vmpa iauc, in quinmacaz, in quintlauhtiz, in tlatoanj: In jxquichtin tlatoque, ioan in pipilti, ioan in tiacahoan, in oquichtin in iauteoatoque, in iubquj oçelotenanti, quauhtenanti mochiuhtoque: ioan in tlatoanj, achto quinnotza in tlatoanj tetzcuco, ioan tlacopan: ioan in jxquich chinanpanecatl in tlatoque, quincaquitia, injc iautlatoa, injc poliujz ce altepetl: quintlauhtia, in jxquich tlaçotilmatli, ioan quinmaca, in jxquich tlaçotlanquj tlaujztli. Niman no ic quinnaoatia: in jxquich in jmaçeoal, injc iauquiçatiuh: impan hicatiuj in tiacaoan, in oquichtin, in tlacochcalcatl tecutli, ioan tlacateccatl,

tonatiuh itlatocahoan mjtoaia, qujiacana in qujujca iauc, iacattiuj in ixquichtin tlamacazque, in teupixque, quinmama in jntevoan cemjlhujtl qujmjtztiuj, in ixquichtin tiacahoan, in tequjoaque, no cemjlhujtl qujmjtztiuj, in jxquich iauqujzquj in tenochcatl, no cemjlhujtl qujmjtztiuj, in jxquich iauqujzquj tlatilulcatl: no cemjlhujtl qujmjtztiuj, in jxquich aculhuacatl: no cemjlhujtl qujtztiuj, in jxquich tepanecatl, no çemjlhujtl qujtztiuj, ixilotepecatl: no cemjlhujtl q'mjtztiuj, in jxquich moquataitoa: çan no iuj in oc cequj altepetl, motetecpana, iujian, iocuxca, in otlatoca.

Auh in jcoac, oaxioac teuatenpan, tlachinoltempan, in iehoantin tiacaoan tlatlacuchcalca, tlatlacatecca njman teumaca, tetecpana, aiac vel tepanauja, aiac vel tetlan qujça, çan njmon vncă qujnmjctia, qujnujujtequj, in aqujn tlaixneloznequj: tetlan qujçazneqUj, in oommoten ixquich iauqujzquj, in ie inman in ooalhuetz acaujztli, in tlaioalli injc tlaiocalcujoaz: auh in jcoac ie itech nequetzaloz, in altepetl poliujz, achto oc cenca mochiia in tletl, in quenman cue-

2. The corresponding Spanish passage reads: "Mandaua luego, a los coluicpan, que llamauan armas, a todos los principales, para sí, y para sus soldados: y entonces la multitud a su gente, y los demas armas."

3. Tzontecpan, diachinoltempan: cf. Sahagún, op. cit., II, p. 103 (lugares para la guerra señalados), and p. 105 (los lugares de los soldados).

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

Seventeenth Chapter, in which are told the exercises of the rulers and how they might perform well their office and their government.

Injc xxtolli omome cap^o, vncan mjtoa in jnnecihecoliz in tlatoque: in quenjn vel qujchioazque intequjuh, in jntlatocaio. 643

FIRST PARAGRAPH, where is told, as well, the ordering of those sent when war was waged.

INJC CE PARRAPHO: vncan mjtoa, ioan in tlatecpanalizt̃li, in qujtitlanja injc iauquiçaia. 643 701

The ruler was known as the lord of men. His charge was war. Hence, he determined, disposed, and arranged how war would be made.

In tlatoanj, tlacatecutli, motocaiotia: itequjuh catca in iauiotl, injc iehoatl qujtzontequj, qujtecpana, quiçencahoa, in quenjn mochioaz iauiotl:

First he commanded masters of the youths and seasoned warriors to scan the [enemy] city and to study all the roads—where [they were] difficult, where entry could be made through them. This done, the ruler first determined, by means of a painted [plan], how was placed the city which they were to destroy. Then the chief noted all the roads —where [they were] difficult, and in what places entry could be made.

achto qujnaoatia in tiachcahoan, in tequjoaque, in connemjlia altepetl, in conjtta, in quezquj vtli, in campa oujca, in campa ic calacoaz, in ie iuhquj achto oqujnemjli in tlatoanj, tlapallacujlolpan omotlali: in altepetl, in poliujz, ie onjtztica in tlatoanj in izqui vtli, in campa oujcan, quezqujcan in calacoaz. 643 723 [102]

Then he summoned the general and the commanding general, and the brave warriors, and he commanded them how they were to take the road, what places the warriors were to enter, for how many days they would march, and how they would arrange the battle. And he commanded that these would announce war and send forth all the men dexterous in war to be arrayed, and to be supplied with provisions for war and insignia.

Niman ic qujoalnotza: in tlacuchcalcatl, in tlacateccatl, in tiacahoan qujnnaoatia, in iuh teumacazque in quezqujcan calaqujz iauqujzquj, in quezquilhujtl monenemiz, in quenjn iautecoz: ioan qujnnaoatia, injc iehoantin, iautlatozque qujnnaoatizque: in jxqujch in quauhtloçelotl, injc mochichioaz, injc moçencaoaz: in jca iauitacatl, ioã tlaujztli.

The ruler then consulted with all the majordomos —the men of the Petlacalco[1] and of the Aztacalco, the majordomos of Quauhnauac and Uaxtepec, and [those] of Cuetlaxtlan, Tochpan, Tziuhcoac, Tepequacuilco, Uapan, Coatlixtlauacan, Tlappan, Tlachco, Matlatzinco, Ocuillan, Xilotepec, Atotonilco, Axocopan, Itzcuincuitlapilco, Atocpan, and Ayotzintepec. He ordered them to take out all their [goods held in] storage, the tributes, costly articles—insignia of gold, and with quetzal feathers, and all the shields of great price.

Auh in iehoatl tlatoanj: njman qujnnonotza in jxqujchtin calpixque, petlacalcatl, aztacalcatl: quauhnaoac calpixquj, oaxtepec calpixquj, cuetlaxtecatl: tochpanecatl: tziuhcoacatl, tepequacujlcatl, hoappanecatl, coaixtlaoacatl, tlappanecatl, tlachcotecatl, matlatzincatl, ocujltecatl, xilotepecatl, atotonjlcatl, axocopanecatl, itzcujncuitlapilcatl, atocpanecatl, aiotzintepecatl, qujnnaoatia, injc qujoalcujzque, in jxqujch in jnpiel, in tlacalaqujlli, in tlaçotlanquj tlaujztli in coztic teucujtlaio, in quetzallo: in jxqujch tlaçochimalli. 643 714

And when the majordomos had delivered all the costly devices, the ruler then adorned and presented with insignia all the princes who were already able in war, and all the brave warriors, the men [at arms],

Auh in jcoac oqujoalitqujque in calpixque: in jxqujch tlaçotlanquj tlaujztli: iehoatl tlatoanj, njman qujcencaoa qujntlaujzmaca in jxqujchtin tlaçopipiltj, in ie imjxco ca iautiliztli: ioan in jxqujchtin 643 701

1. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, II, p. 99; Sahagún, *op. cit.*, I, p. 166; II, p. 311.

565 871 there, corrected, and instructed; that he might live an upright life. They constrained him to do the penances, setting fir branches [on the city altars] at night, or there where they went to place the fir branches on mountain tops—there where sacrifices were made at midnight. Or else he entered the song house; they left him in the hands of the masters of the youths. They charged him with the sweeping, or with dancing and song—with all which was concerned with the performance of penances.

565 868 ●701 And when he was already fifteen years old, then he took up arms; or, reaching twenty years of age, then he went forth to war. First [his parents] summoned those who were seasoned warriors. They gave them to eat and to drink, and they gave gifts to all the seasoned warriors. They gave them large, cotton capes, or carmine colored breech clouts, or capes painted with designs. And then they besought the seasoned warriors; in just the same way as hath been told above, so they entreated them.

And then they took him to the wars. The seasoned warriors went taking great care of him, lest somewhere he might be lost. And they taught him well how to guard himself with a shield; how one fought; how a spear was fended off with a shield. And when a battle was joined, when already there was fighting and perhaps already captives were being taken, they taught him well and made him see how he might take a captive. Perhaps then he took a captive with the aid of others, or he [alone] could take one.[3] For truly it was well seen to that many men become brave warriors.

[202] And when captives were being taken, then at once couriers, of marriageable age, quickly went forth, called victory messengers, who speedily went to inform Moctezuma.

And when the victory messengers had come to arrive, then they quickly entered into the presence of Moctezuma and said to him: "O our lord, O my youth, pay thy debt and thy service [to the god]; for the omen of evil, Uitzilopochtli, hath shown favor and been gracious. For they have pierced the rampart of men dexterous in arms of the city against which they have gone. Into it have marched[3] the Mexicans of Tenochtitlan, the Mexicans of Tlatilulco, the Tepaneca, the Acolhua, the Otomí, the Matlatzinca,

nemjz qujcujtlaujltia in tlamaceoaliztli, in ioaltica in acxoiatlalilizttli içaçocampa acxoiatlalitiuh in tepeticpac, in vmpa onmjcoia ioalnepantla, anoce cujcacali qujcalaquja, inmac concaoa in tiachcaoan, qujcujtlaujltia in tlachpanaliztli, anoço cujcoianoliztli, in jxquich tlamantli tlamaçeoaliztli mochioaia.

Auh in jcoac ie cxxtolxiuhtia icoac moiaomamachtia anoço açi cempoalxiujtl inje qujça iauc, in iehoantin tequjoaque achtopa qujnnotza qujntlaqualtia. qujmatlitia, ioan qujntlauhtia in jxquichtin tequjoaque, in qujnmaca aço quachtli anoço nochpalmaxtlatl, anoço tlacujlolli in tilmatli. Auh njman qujtlatlauhtia in tequjoaque, çan ie no iuhquj in omjto tlacpac inje qujntlatlauhtia.

Auh njman ic qujhujca, in iauc: vel qujmocujtlaujtiuj in tequjoaque, in ma cana xiccaoalo: auh vel qujmachtia, in iuh momana chimalli, in iuh iautioa, in iuh mochimaltopeoa mjtl. Auh in jcoac ie mochioa iauiotl, in ie necalioa, anoce ie tlamalo, uel conjttitia, vel contlachieltia, in vmpa tlamaz: aço njmã tepallama, anoço njman vel ic caçi ipampa ca cenca necujtlaujlo ca mjiec tlacatl in jtiacauh mochioa.

Auh in ie tlamalo, njman achtopa oalpeuhtiqujça in tequjtque tlapaliuj, intoca tequjpan titlanti in qujoalnonotztiuetzi motecuçuma:

auh in oacico tequjpan titlanti, njman ic hiciuhca calactiuetzi ipan in motecuçuma qujlhuja. Totecujoe notelpoczine, ma ximotlacotili, ma ximotequjtili, ca oicnopiltic, onmaceoaltic, in tetzaujtl in ujtzilobuchtli, ca otepan qujtopeuh in quauhtenamjtl, in ocelotenamjtl, ca oia in altepetl: in vmpa tlatlamatitiaque in mexica tenochca, in mexica tlatilulca, in tepaneca, in aculhoa, in otomjtl, in matlatzincatl, iie jxquich tlalhoacpanecatl in chinampanecatl.

2. *Vel ic cuei*: the *Real Academia de la Historia MS* has *ce* for *ic*.
3. *Tlatlamatitiaque*: Simeon, *op. cit.*—*diplomamitia*.

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Astec NU7

and finally all the people of the uplands and those of the swamp lands."[4]

And Moctezuma said to them: "You have tired yourselves; you have suffered affliction, O men dexterous in war. Rest yourselves. [But] perhaps you only fool me. Let me still behold the truth of your account."

And then he confined them. If the report which they had made were not true, Moctezuma jailed them and did away with them

And there in battle was when captives were taken. When it had come to pass that they went against and conquered the city, then the captives were counted, there, in wooden cages: how many had been taken by Tenochtitlan, how many had been taken by Tlatilulco, and by the people of the swamp lands and the people of the dry lands everywhere. The captives were examined [to determine] how many groups of four hundred were formed.

Those who counted were the generals and the commanding generals. And then they sent messengers here to Mexico. Those who were sent as messengers were seasoned warriors, who informed Moctezuma of the great veracity of the four-hundred count. They brought word of how many groups of four hundred had been made captive.

And then they declared to him how many of the noblemen had won their reward for having made captives; that haply a number [of them] had had their hair shorn as seasoned warriors, or that some [had been made] leaders of the youths. When Moctezuma heard this, he rejoiced exceedingly, because his noblemen had taken captives. And at that time he freed those whom he had cast in jail—the victory messengers—and he gave them gifts along with the others.

And if war should be proclaimed against Atlixco, or Uexotzinco, and if there once again they took captives, they won much glory thereby; Moctezuma accorded them great honor for it. For his noblemen had taken captives, and had gained repute, and had reached the station of nobility—the estate of the eagle and the ocelot warriors. From there they came to rule, to govern cities; and at that time they seated them with [the nobility], and they might eat with Moctezuma.

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Auh quimjlhujaia in motecuma, ounquiçiauhque, ounqujhiouique in oçeloquichtle: ximotlalican aço çan annechiztlacahuja, ma oc njcchia in jneltica tlatolli:

[687]

auh njman quimoncaltzaqua intlacamo melaoac tlatolli oquicaquitique motecuma quintlatlaia quinpopolca.

727

Auh in vmpa iauc in iquac otlamaloc, in ie ihuqui in oia in oompoliuh, altepetl, njman ic mocempoa in mamalti, in vncan cacaltitla quezquj oxtioac in tenochtitlā, quezquj oxtioac in tlatilulco, auh inic nouijan cenchinanpanecatl, centlalhoacpanecatl, mocemjtta in mamalti quezquitzontli omuchiuh.

[202
701]

Jehoantin tlapoa in tlatlacochcalca, in tlatlacatecca: auh njman ic oallatitlanj, in njcan mexico, in oalmotitlanj iehoantin in tetequjouaque, in quioalnonotza motecuçuma, in ie uel imelaoaca in jcentzontecca, in quioalitquj tlatolli, in quezquitzontli omochiuh malli:

[431]

auh in quimelauiliaia in quezquintin otlacnopilhuique in pipilti in otlamaque, aço cequintin motequioacxima anoce cequintin telpuchiacati. Jn çujcaquja in motecuçuma cenca ic papaquja ipampa ca ipilhoan in ontlamaque: auh quinjquac quinquixtiaia, in quincaltzaquaia in tequipan titlanti quimōtehoan motlatlauhtia.

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Auh intla oalmjtoz iauiotl in atlixco, aço vexotzinco, intla oc ceppa vmpa tlamazque, cenca ic vel panuetzi, ic cenca uel quimmauiztilia in motecuçuma: ipampa ca ipilhoan in ontlamaque, in onmoteniotique in oconmjiaoaiotique in pillotl in quauhiotl, in ocelotl, ic oncan in quiça in tlatocati, in quipachoa altepetl, auh quinjquac intlan quintlalia: ytlan tlaqua in motecuçuma

4. *Chimalpanecatl*: Sahagún's comment on fol. 51 of Book X of the *Florentine Codex* is descriptive: "y he de la tierra seca, que son las montañas de los chimalpas."

577 And he who took no captive with others' help
578 when, perchance, he had returned three or four times
●701 to the wars, they called "Big tuft of hair over the back of the head." And if this was said of him, he was much ashamed of it. Wherefore he cast himself [into the fray] in order to take a captive with others' aid.

Auh in aquin amo tepallama in aço ic espa anoço ic nappa yloti in iaoc quitocaiotia cuespalchicacpul auh in iuh ipan mitoa y ic pinaoa, quin iconac teca momotla inic tepallama.

729 And if he made a captive with the help of others,
577 then his head was pasted with feathers. And he who then did not take a captive with the aid of others might not remove his lock of hair; neither was his head pasted with feathers. Thus was his hair shorn: it was cut like a ring-shaped carrying pad; they shaved only the crown of his head.

Auh intla tepal otlama iconac mopotonia, auh in aquin çan niman amo tepallama, amo uel mocuespallaça amono mopotonia, inic maxima moquaiscoalxima çanio inicoa nepantla quichichiqui.

And [whether] worldly goods and riches were his lot, or he was only poor, yet if his back tuft of hair had been removed, he never took, and never did they
[292] place upon him, an embroidered cape, [but] only another small, white, maguey fiber cape, and his small breech clout.

Auh im aço ie imaceoalti in tlalticpacaiotl, in neculltonolli, auh anoço can motolinia auh inomocuespallaz aic tle quicui, aic tle itech quitlalia tlamacho tilmatli çan oc ce in iztac in ichtilmaton iztac in imastlaton,

And he who had acted indeed alone and had taken captives, if he took one, was therefore named a leading youth and a captor. And when this came to pass, then they took him before Moctezuma, there at the palace. And by his command he was then stained
[302 with yellow ochre; his face was colored with red
336] ochre. They applied it to all of his face. And the majordomos of Moctezuma anointed his temples with yellow ochre.[1]

auh i aquin uel oquimiacaui otlama in oce cacic ic motocaiotia telpochiiaqui tlamani. Auh in iquac y quinicoac ipan, quiuica in motecuçoma in umpa tlatocăn. Auh in encopa inic motecuçauhtiltia mistlapalhoatzalhuia quicemaquia in ixaiac, auh in icanaoacan quiteconauhuia in icalpiscahoan motecuçoma.

And at that time Moctezuma granted him favors;
[431 he gave him an orange cape with a striped border
242] and a scorpion design to bind on, and a carmine colored breech clout with long ends, and a breech clout of many colors.[2] And then he began to wear capes with designs.

Auh quinicoac quitlauhtia in motecuçoma in quimaca camopaltenoacanqui ioan centetl cololalpilli ioan centetl nochpalmastlatl iacauiac ioan centetl centzonmastlatl tlatlapalli, auh iconc compeoaltia in tlacuiloltilmatli quiquemi.

And when he had taken two, likewise they took him there before Moctezuma, at the palace, and likewise his gifts were provided as hath been told.

Auh inic ome caci çan no vmpa quiuica in ipan motecuçoma in tlatocan auh çan no iuhquj in inetlauhtil mochioaia in omito.

624 And when he captured three, likewise his gifts
729 were provided, and he took [the office] of, and they
861 established him as, a master of the youths, a leading
561 youth. He entered a place of dignity, the young men's house, there to nurture and rear [them]. There he reared the young men, there where there was song and dance at night, there in the song house.

Auh inic ei caci çan ie no iuhqui in inetlauhtil mochioa, auh oncan canaia in quitiachcauhtecaia in telpochiiaqui quicalaquiaia inuchican in telpochcali inic vmpa tlacaoapaoa tlacaxcaltia vmpa quimixcaltia in telpopochti, on cuicoianooaia in ioaltica in vmpa cuicacali.

1. Following *quitecuanahuia*, the *Real Academia de la Historia* MS has *yuan ompa quimpanuia*—and there they pasted feathers on their heads. This passage is missing in the *Florentine Codex*.

2. The corresponding Spanish text reads: "*vna manta con vnas listas labradas de color morado; y otra manta labrada, de otras colores labores de colorado que se llamana cololapalli; y . . . vn maxtle labrado de colorado, largo que arrastrauan bien colgado, y otro maxtle labrado de todas colores.*"

And when he took four, Moctezuma then let his hair be cut like that of a seasoned warrior. He was named a seasoned warrior. And then also he assumed the titles of a seasoned warrior—perchance Mexicatl tequiua, or Tolnauacatl tequiua, or Cioatecpanecatl tequiua: all the titles of a seasoned warrior. And then in truth was when they placed him on the mat and stool of the warriors' house—there where were gathered the great, brave warriors, where were the Tlacochcalcatl, the Tlacatecatl, the Ticociuacatl, the Atempanecatl—those who were great captains, who had long labrets, who had leather ear plugs, who had head bands with [two] eagle-feather tassels, with which [their hair] was bound.

And if six, or seven, or ten Huaxteca, or barbarians,[3] were taken, he gained thereby no renown. For this his title was only seasoned warrior.

Then if he went to take captives at Atlisco, or Uexotzinco, or Tliliuhquitepec, for the fifth one whom he captured, then he gained great honor. For this his name was that of a great, brave warrior—a great captain. Then Moctezuma gave him a long, blue labret and a head band with [two] tufts of [eagle] feathers,[4] perchance with silver flint knives [between the eagle feathers], and leather ear plugs, and a bright red, rich, netting cape. And also he was then given a cape of two colors divided diagonally, and a leather cape.

And if he went to take two [captives] from Atlisco or[5] Uexotzinco, then already he filled everyone with awe. Then they gave him a long, yellow labret; he required[6] both the blue [and the yellow] long labrets.[7]

End

Auh inic naui caci ich icoac quitequioacaxima in motecuçoma motocaiotia tequioa, auh no icoac compecaltia in tequioacatocaitl aço mexicatl tequioa, anoço tolnaoacatl tequioa anoço cioatecpanecatl tequioa in iquich tequioacatocaitl, auh uel icoac contlalia impetlapan icpalpan in quauhcali in vmpa cenquiztoque in ueuei tiacahoan in vmpa cate in tlacxchcalcatl in tlacateccatl in ticociaoacatl, tocuiltecatl, atenpanecatl, ichoantin quauhiaca i, têçacaoaque cuitlaxnacochique qiauhtlalpiloni inic ontlalpiloque. [293] 701

Auh intla chiquacen intla chicome anoço matlactin oquimacic cuestecatl, aço tenitl amo ic panuetzi, çan ic itoca in iaotequioa [186]

ca quinicoac intla otlamato atlisco anoco Uexotzinco, anoço tliliuhquitepec inic macuilli caci icoac vel panuetzi inic veitiacauh in itoca quauhiacatl niman quimaca in motecuçoma xoxouhqui têçacatl [43] ioan tlalpiloni aço iztac teucuitlatl in itecpaio, ioan [293] cuetlaxnacochtli ioan chichiltic cuechintli. Auh no [301] icoac maco in tilmatli chicoapalnacazmingui, ioan cuetlastilmatli.

Auh intla ome cacitiuh in atlisco anoco vexotzinco ie ic centlamamauhtia icoac quimaca in coztic têçacatl [293] iiomesti quititlani in xoxouhqui têçacatl. 301

fin

3. *Tenitl*: "Estos sabe así llamados [Olmeca, Uixtotin, Mexica] *antes hacia el nacimiento del sol, y Huaxteca también mismos, porque hablan lengua Mexicana*"—Sahagún, *op. cit.*, III, p. 133. Cf. also corresponding Spanish text.

4. Following *tlalpiloni*, the *Real Academia de la Historia* MS has *quauhtlalpiloni*—head band with eagle feather pendants. This word is omitted in the *Florentine Codex*.

5. *Anoco* should be read *anoço*.

6. *Quititlani*: a reconjoint form in the *Real Academia de la Historia* MS suggests that the term is translated *auer*. Cf. also corresponding Spanish term, *tuuo*, in Simeon, *op. cit.*, *tener*, *tenuio*, *tituilla*.

7. Following *cuestecatl*, the *Real Academia de la Historia* MS has *in cuecuic*; these words are omitted in the *Florentine Codex*.
A passage left out of this codex is included in the *Real Academia de la Historia* MS, ending the chapter. It is placed in Appendix C.

[p. 78 has no test material]

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

Appendix B

Continuation of the Twentieth Chapter[1]

. . . Then were rewarded the seasoned warriors who had brought word of the great veracity of the four-hundred count.[2]

. . . in iquac motlauhtia tequiuaqz,[2] y uel ymelauaca i ye ycentzontecca, oquiualitq'qz tlahtolli. 202 701

And in this wise the messengers entered; if the flesh of men had been taken captive, it was thus soon made known—all came tying and binding their hair, for the flesh of men had been taken and they thus made it evident. And much did the common folk rejoice when the saw them [and noted] that they came binding [their hair]. They said: "And so[4] the flesh of men hath been taken captive; for all the messengers go with bound [hair]!" And if some came separate [from the others], and came no more with their hair tied and bound, but went with it quite loose, thus they made it known that [our men] had been made captive and that there had been losses in the war. And when the common folk saw them, then a cry of grief arose. Then they said: "And so[4] there have been losses!"

Auh inic ualcalaquia in titlanti intla otonacatlamaloc. ic monextiiuitze mochinti quihcuistiuitze in inquatzõ ontlalpihtiuitze. ypampa ca otonacatlamaloc. ic quitemachitiaya. Auh cenca ic pahpaqz im maceualti in q'mittaya. in ontlacuistiuitze. quitoua. anca otonacatlamaloc ca mochintin ontlacuistiui in titlanti. auh intla ceq'ntin ic xeliuhtiuitze in aocmo ontlalpihtiuitze, y aocmo. yhcuistiuitz inquatzõ y ça tontiuh. yc quinextiaya. ca otlamaloc, yuan omicouac ỹ yaoc. Auh in oq'mittaqz macualtin nimã ic tlachoquiztleua. niman iuh quitoua, anca omicouac. 201 727

And the noblemen, when they had taken some captives, did not anoint themselves with yellow but rather stained themselves with red ochre, which they put on all over; and they were pasted with eagle down. And Moctezuma rewarded them all with princely capes and breech clouts of great value and high honor, and with preciously wrought quetzal feather devices [ornamented] with gold, and with shields with, perhaps, quetzal feather garlands—very rich shields.

. auh im pipilti in iquac tlaotlamahqz. amo motecaŭhaltia, çan tlauhtica mohçaya quicemaqz in nouia intech. auh mopotonia quiauhtlachcayotica. auh in q'ntlauhtia motecciuçoma moch yeuatl in tlatocatilmahtli. in tlatocamaxtlatl. y cẽca tlaçotli immauizço. yuan tlaçotlanq' quetzallauiztli teocuitlayo. yuan chimalli. aço quetzalcozcayo y uel tlaçotli chimalli. 565 302 727 431

And if one's captives came alive, then he had stewards guard them, and they took great care of them lest they take sick; perhaps it might be twenty or forty that they would guard.

auh ỹ yeoatl ymal intla oualyoltia niman q'mpieltia in calpiaqz uel quimocuitlauia inic amo cocolizcuiz intla oc cempoualtiz anoço compoualtiz. in ąpiezque. 727

And at the time when the captive was to die, then

Auh i ye yquac miquiz malli. ỹ yehuatl tlamani 000

1. See ending of Chapter 20, above.
This passage originally, in the *Real Academia* MS, completed the section ending *tlatoani quinitlachiuh motlatlauhtia*. The remaining part of Chapter 20 there appears as an interpolation.
2. The abbreviation for the ending *-que* in the original resembles *-qz*, and is thus reproduced here.
3. This phrase appears capable of more than one interpretation: cf. Molina, *op. cit.*, *diuinoy=quilia*, and *cruelmente trquilia*. Seler's translation of a similar passage in Chapter 20 (*Einige Kapitel*, p. 331)—*ipe uel y mahmaua intemmatcero*—is "*in nichtiger Weise das Zahl der Verbundenen.*"
4. *Anoc*: cf. Angel María Garibay K.: *Llave del Náhuatl* (Otumba, Méx.: [Imprenta Mayfé], 1940), p. 188; also Horacio Carochi: *Arte de la lengua mexicana* (México: Imprenta del Museo Nacional, 1892), p. 519.

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

Appendix C

Continuation of the Twenty-first Chapter[1]

. . . He alternated [his lip plugs] when he fitted them in. And [Moctezuma gave him] his head band [with two tufts] of eagle feathers [ornamented] with obsidian knives fashioned of gold, and his cape with, perhaps, the serpent mask design, or the earthen vessel fashioned of feathers, or the ocelot cape with a red border; and a breech clout with long ends, having either the eagle claw or the market place design.

At that time he acquired new sandals—not embroidered nor cut according to a pattern, but black, with their thongs of either orange or red leather. And when he went to the palace, he put the sandals on in order to go along the road. He went receiving great honors, because he was Moctezuma's chieftain. He proceeded with much acclaim. And when he reached the Eagle Gate he drew off the sandals which he had put on; he was no longer shod when he entered the royal palace, where were the great men dexterous in arms, the war leaders.

And also at that time he won the title known as general or commanding general. If the general or commanding general were to die, then [another] would be chosen and selected [from among] those who had been made their deputies. They said that they had become lords of the sun.

And all the seasoned warriors, who had entered the field of battle, all these Moctezuma rewarded. When the Feast of Tlacaxipeualiztli was celebrated, he gave each of them four pieces of black cloth, each eight measures broad. And likewise he gave the leaders of the youths the cape of scorpion design with a striped, orange border and the carmine colored breech clout with the wind jewel design at the ends.

And [as for] those whom we knew to be seasoned war leaders and leaders in the fray, then started [the custom] that Moctezuma [had] the hair of those who were chieftains cut as short ones or as Otomí [warriors].

When and wheresoever war was proclaimed, always they remained guarding and paying heed to

. . . q'papatla y' çaço catleuatl conaquiz. auh in iquauhtlalpiaya coztic teocuitlatl in itecpayo. auh in itilma, aço couaxayacayo, anoço yuitica tehtecomayo, anoço ocelotentlapalli in q'maca. moteccuiçoma yuã mastlatl yacauiac aço quauhiztio, anoço tianquiztli ommãtiuh i mastlatl. [701 293 431]

yquac yancuicã quicui in cactli, amo tlahmachyo amo cuicuiltic çan tliltic. in icuetlasmecayo aço uitzteculli. anoço chichiltic cuetlastli. auh in iquac ye yauh tecpã oonmocactia inic ohtli q'toca. cenca momauizçotitiuh ypampa ca ytiacauh im moteccuiçoma. cẽca motleyotitiuh. Auh i ye onaci quauhquiauac quicopina in icac quitlalia aoc momocactia inic calaqui tecpan tlahtoca in ompa cate uehuey quaquauhti, uehuey ocelome i yaotachcaua. [574]

Auh no yquac quimahcoua in tocaitl im mitoua tlacochcalcatl. anoço tlacateccatl. intla miquiz tlacochcalcatl anoço tlacateccatl yquac ano pepenalo. yeuantin ym ixiptlayouã mochiuaya. quihtouaya ytlahtocaua mochiua in tonatiuh.

Auh in isquichtin i yaotequiuaqz i yaotitlancalaqz i ye mochintin in q'ntlauhtiaya moteccuiçoma. yquac in tequiquistiloya in tlacaxipeualiztli in q'mmacaya tlilpapatlauac chichicuee çotl nanauhmaca. auh no yui in telpochiaqz in q'mmacaya camopaltẽuauanq' colotlalpili nochpalmastlatl yacayecacozcayo. [431]

Auh i yeuantin i in otiq'nteneuhqz i yaoteẽuaqz i yaotachcauã. oncã quiçaya in q'nquachicxtimaya. motecuiçoma anoço quimotõximaya. in tiacauã catca. [302]

in iquac çaçocampa ualmitouaya yaoyotl çã mochipa quichistiticate quipopouhticate in inquauhyo in [701 721]

1. See ending of Chapter 21, above.

701 721 their estate as men dexterous in war, as men of valor, as chieftains. Thus none, when they went, might take account that they might die. [For] if war were not proclaimed, if they were not to go off to die, none might know for how much time they might live. And if war were proclaimed, then set forth together the assembled men of Mexico. The generals and the commanding generals led them. When they reached the place which they were to conquer, upon the next day they disposed them in battle array.

imocceloyo inic oquichti inic tiacauh. inic ayac ỹ uiui ça quipopouhtinemi in immiquiz. im ma ualmihto yaoyotl im ma ommiquiti ma oce ontlamati in oc quesquich cauitl nemizqz, auh intla oualmihto yaoyotl nimã cemolini i ye itlacatl mexicatl. in teyacana tlatlacochcalca. tlatlacatecca in oacito in ōpa tepeuazqz. oc cemilhuipã i yaoteca.

726 687 And there on the battlefield went the shorn ones in pairs. The Otomí [warriors] also went in pairs. If one of the shorn ones died in the fray and if the other of the shorn ones turned tail, then Moctezuma [had an official] take after him. No more might he enter the Eagle House; they kept him shut away in his [own] house. Of no further use was he. And they suspended the shorn one. And in the same way they exacted penalty of Otomí [warriors] if one of them died [in battle] and if the other fled. They took after him; they suspended him as chieftain. And also they deprived him of rank if he showed fear.

auh i ye ompa yaoc. ommettitiui in quaquachicti. no ommettitiui. in otomi. intla ce oyaomic quachic. intla oc ce ualmocuepa quachiqz. niman ic quitohtocaya i motecoçcoma. aocmo calaqz in q̃uhcali. ça iccen quicallatiaya. aocca moneqz. auh q'cualtiaya inic quachic. Auh çan ye no iuh q'ntlatzacuiltiaya in otomi intla çan no ce omic intla oc ce ualmocuepa. quitohtoca quicaualtia inic tiacauh. auh no quicaualtia inic otlamamauhtiaya.

All with which they had bedight him—the precious capes and costly breech clouts—no longer could he assume. He might put on only a poor maguey fiber cape or a wretched yucca fiber cape, as he deserved.

in isquich in itech oq'tlaliaya in tlaçotilmahtli. in tlaçomastlatl. aoc tle quicui. ça ichtilmahtzintli. anoço icçotilmahtzintli. in q'mulpilia. inic quitlamaboeualmacaya.

701 431 643 And perhaps in a year or two [Moctezuma] remembered him, sought him out, and drew him from his home. And when he went before Moctezuma, thereupon he gave him again the devices, perhaps [ornamented] with quetzal feathers or with gold. Then [the ruler] gave him gifts: he presented him a bundle of capes, and provided him with grains of maize—he gave him a canoe full of maize grains; and he provided him with *chía*—he weighed out two large measures of *chía*. And thereafter once again he placed himself among [those in] the Eagle House, because he merited once more assuming all the costly capes and breech clouts and all the honors which were his.

auh in quilnamiquia aço ce xiuitl anoço ōxiuitl. in quitemouaya. ychan in q'ualanaya. auh in ōya ispã motecuiçoma. nimã ye ic q'ualmaca in tlauiztli aço quetzallo. anoço teocuitlayo. niman quitlauhtia, cen q'milli in q'maca tilmatli. yuã quitlaoltia cem acalli in q'maca tlaolli yuan quichientia. aço.omtetl y uey tzincopinq' ic q'tamachiua chien. auh quí ye no ceppa yquac tetlan motlalia in q̃uhcali. ypampa ca ontlamahceuh oc ceppa mochi q'cui in tlaçotilmahtli in tlaçoemastlatl. in isq'ch ytech poui in imauizço.

701 726 And if, as a shorn one, or as an Otomí [warrior], he were to take a captive there at Atlixco or at Uexotzinco, much was Moctezuma's heart gladdened thereby. And all the lords were happy because of it; they were pleased and rejoiced therefor, that those who were shorn ones or Otomí [warriors] had taken captives: because men dexterous in war had surrounded [the foe].

Auh intla yquachicyo intla yotõyo ypan otlama in ompa atlixco anoço uexotzinco oc cenca ic paquia in iyollo motecuiçoma. yuan in isquichtin tlahtoqz ic papaqz ic motlamachtiaya ic ahauiaya. in oypan tlamahqz inquachicyo in imotõyo. ỹpãpa ca oquimisuayotito in quauhyotl in oceloyotl.

6 Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

Then were drawn forth and chosen the general and the commanding general. Then the man dexterous in arms attained his end; such honor he won that no one anywhere might be adorned [like him]: no one in his [own] house might assume all his finery. For in truth [because of] his dart and his shield there was drinking and eating, and one was arrayed in cape and breech clout. For verily in Mexico were we, and thus persisted the reign of Mexico.

oncan quiztiuia oncam pepenaloya. in tlacochcalcatl in tlacateccatl mochiuaya. oncan y tlamiani in q̃uhyotl inic pãuechouaya inic ayac çan campa onochichiuaya. ayac çan icalitic. oquicuic in isquich ynechichiual. ca nel mitl ca chimalli in oyuac in oqualoc. auh in oquemouac in tilmahtli im maxtlatl. ca nel mexico in tlcate ca ic mani i mexicayotl. 701

532
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[502]

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— After Paso y Troncoso

119. Spaniards attack Coyoacan (Chapter 30). 120. Spaniards crumble the wall at Xoloco (Chapter 30). 121. Fighting at Xoloco (Chapter 30). 122. Spaniards pierce the wall at Utzilihuitzi (Chapter 31). 123. Allies of the Spaniards fill the canals (Chapter 31). 124. Spanish horsemen ride in at Utzilihuitzi (Chapter 31). 125. Spanish horsemen spears a Tlatelolcan (Chapter 31). 126. Mexican warriors unhorse and kill the Spaniard (Chapter 31). 127. Slaves carry land from warboats (Chapter 31).

[p. 44(R)]

● 701 (And this Tzilacatzin was an Otomí [warrior], as a chieftain, because of his Otomí hairdress. For he despised his foes, even the Spaniards. He disdained them; in truth, all were completely terrified. When they saw Tzilacatzin, our foes then cowered. And much did they try to slay him; either to pierce him with iron bolts, or shoot him with a gun. But [301] Tzilacatzin disguised himself, that he might not be recognized. At times he put on a device; he hung his lip pendants and inserted his golden ear plugs, and he put on a neck band of small white shells; but his head went uncovered, so that it was apparent that he was an Otomí. And sometimes [he had] only his heavy cotton shirt and a thin band with which he wrapped his forehead. And at times he [293] disguised himself by putting on a feather headdress and wig, a head band with [two] eagle feather tufts which went at the back of the head, used to bind [his hair]. Thus did one go with it bound at the time that men were cast into the fire.[5] He went in the guise of one who cast men into the fire; he went imitating those who cast men into the fire. [He had] his golden arm bands; on both arms he had them — in both places he had them on his arms. And the [301] golden arm bands glistened.[4] And also he had about the calves of his legs, leather bands — gilded leg bands, which shone.)

(Auh inin Tzilacatzin otomjtl catca injc tiacauh, ipampa in tlaotonxintli, ichica amo imjxco tlachiaia in iniaovan in manel Españoles, amo tle impan qujmjttaia, vel tlacenmamauhtiaia: in jquac in qujttaia in Tzilacatzin, njman mocototztlaliaia in toiaovan: auh cenca qujtemoaia, injc qujmjctizque, in aço qujtepanmjvizque, in anoço qujtlequjquizvizque. Auh in Tzilacatzin, çã mjxpoloa injc amo iximachoz: in quenman tlaviztli in onmaqujaia, itenpilol compiloaia, yoan iteteucujtlanacoch yoã conmococatia in jcuzquj chipoli, çan tlapouhtiuh in jtzontecon, nextiuh injc otomjtl: auh in quẽmanjan çanjo in ichcavipil canactontli injc onmoquaqujmjloa, auh in q̃manjan injc mjxpoloa cõmaqujaia ihujtzoncalli, quatzone quauhtlalpiloni icuexcochtlampa tentiuh, ic tlalpitiuh ichoatl injc tetlepantlaxoia, iuhqujn tetlepantlazquj ipã qujztiuh, qujntlaiciecalhujtiuh in tetlepantlazque iteteucujtlamatemecauh necoccampa in ietiuh yiocanjxti ietiuh in jmac: auh in trucujtlamatemecatl cuecuenio auh no ie in jcxic ieietiuh, cotzeuatl, trucujtlacotzcoatl çan petlanquj)

726 And then, next day, when once again their boats set out, they grounded them at Nonoalco, at Ayauhcaltitlan.[5] And then also came out those who went afoot, as well as all the Tlaxcallans and Otomí. Indeed, in force the Spaniards issued to fall upon [the Mexicans]. And when they came to and arrived at Nonoalco, thereupon there were battle and fighting; in truth there spread strife and war. Death was dealt on both sides. All their foes were shot at with arrows, and also all the Mexicans. On both sides equally was there suffering. Thus all day and all night they all fought.

Auh njmã imuztlaioc in ie no cuel ceppa quiçaco in jmacal conacanaco nonoalco, aiauhcaltitlã: auh njman no quiçaco in tlacxipanvia yoan in ie izquich tlaxcaltecatl yoan otomjtl, vel tonac in quinxtepevitivitze in Españoles. Auh in oacico nonoalco: njmã ie ic tlaiecolo, necaliva, vel motetemman in tlaiecolliztli in iauiotl, necoc in mjcoaia izquich mjnalca in iniaovan, no izquich in mexicatl, necoc ivi, necocolo, iuh ommjlhujtl, iuh ioac in necalioac.

But [there were] two great chieftains who turned not their faces, who despised those who were their foes, who set no value upon their bodies. The first man was named Tzayectzin; the second was named Temoctzin. And a third was the [afore]mentioned Tzilacatzin.

Çan vmen in vevei tiacauã in amo mjtzacujlianj, in atle inpan qujmitta in iniaovã catca, in amo qujtlaçotlaia in innacaio. Jnjc ce tlacatl itoca Tzaiectzin. Jnjc vme itoca, Temoctzin: auh ic teeca in omotenuh in Tzilacatzin.

3. See Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., II — The Conquest, Chapter 29.

4. Commentary probably erroneous in context.

5. A part of Nonoalco, in Tlatelolco — Cano, op. cit.

726 him. Another time the quetzal-owl [warrior] turned them back and pursued them. Thereupon he took from them the quetzal feathers and the gold [looted by the foe],[17] and then he jumped down from the roof terrace. He did not die, nor did our foes carry him off. Now also, three of our foes had been taken. At last the battle came to an end; with this, stillness spread, and no more was done. Then our foes departed. All was quiet, and nothing more took place. Thus night fell.

And upon the morrow, likewise no more happened. None spoke aloud. The common folk only settled back. And the Spaniards did nothing more. They only remained still; they remained looking at the common folk. Nothing more occurred; they remained quiet, in place.

●701 And here are named all the chieftains, the great men who were wise in the ways of war, who disposed [men] for battle, who assumed the burden of war: the general Coyoueuetzin, and the Tzilacatecutli Temiloctzin. These were Tlatilulcans. And those of Tenochtitlan [were] the ruler's vicar Tlacotzin and the captain of the armies Motelchiuhtzin. These are they who were the great chieftains of Tlatilulco and Tenochtitlan.

ie ic qujnamoia in quetzalli, yoan in teucujtlatl: auh njman ic vmpa valhuetz in tlapanco, amo mjc, amo qujvicaque in toiaovan: ie no ieintin in axivaque in toiauvi ça iccen oontzotzon in iuiotl ic cactimomaan, aoc tle muchiuh: njman ic iaque in toiaovan, cactimomaan, aoc tle muchiuh injc oniovan.

Auh in jmuztlaioc, çan njmā aoc tle muchiuh, aocac navati, ça pachiuhtoc in macevalli. Auh in iehoantin Españoles aoc no tle ay, ça onoque, qujmonjztoque in macevaltin aoc tle mantoc, cencī ça onoq̄.

Auh njcan moteneoa in jzq'ntin tiiacavan, in vevei oqujchtin, in vel imjxco catca iuiotl, in iuitecaia in jpan icaca iuiotl. Tlacuchcalcatl, Coiovevetzin, Tzilacatecutli Temjloctzin: in iehoantin in ca tlatilulca. Auh in tenuchca, iehoantin in. Cioacoatl tlacutzin, vitznaoatl Motelchiuhtzin: oca iehoātin in, in vevcintin tiiacavan catca in tlatilulco, yoan injc tenuchtitlan.

17. This is explained in the Spanish text: "salio este con un el dispuso donde los dexasse aquel quetzalin y rrosa de oro colorado."

Thirty-ninth Chapter, in which is told how, when the [Spaniards] had forced them to the wall, there appeared to the Mexicans what showed itself to be [a ball of] jasper[1] which seemed to issue from the heavens and came to view like a large coal of fire.

Injc ompoalli on cxxtolli onnavi capitulo: vncā mjtoa in quenjn ichoantin Mexica in jquac ovel-qujncaltechpachoto in nez in mottac Eztetl: iuh-q'nma ilhujcacpa valla. Auh injc valnextia iuhqujn vei tlexuchtli.

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And when night had fallen, then it rained and sprinkled at intervals. Late at night the flame became visible; just so was it seen, just so it emerged as if it came from the heavens. Like a whirlwind[2] it went spinning around and revolving; it was as if embers burst out of it — some very large, some very small, some like sparks. Like a coppery wind it arose, crackling, snapping, and exploding loudly. Then it circled the dike and traveled toward Coyonacanco;[3] then it went into the middle of the lake there to be lost.

Auh in ovalioac: njman ic ic qujqujiavi, avachqujqujiavi, ic tlaquauhiova in nez tletl: in juh mottac, in juh nez, iuhquin ilhujcacpa valla, iuhquin ecamalacatl, momamalacachotiuh, motevilacachotiuh, iuhquin cuecuepocatiuh tlexuchtli, cequj vevei, cequj çan tepitoton, cequj ça iuhquin tlemoiuitl, iuhquin tecatepuztli, moquetza, cenca icoioca, tetecujca, titicujca, çan quijavalo in atenamjtl: coionacazco in valiztia: njmā ic ia in anepantla, vmpa popolivito,

Nonoc shouted; none spoke aloud.

aiac motenvitec, aiac navat:

And on the next day, nothing more happened. All remained [quiet], and also our foes [so] remained.

auh in jmuztlaioc, aoc no tle machiuh, ça onoac, ça no onoque in toiaovan.

But the Captain [Cortés] was watching from a roof-top at Amaxac — from the roof-top of [the house of] Axtauatzin — under a canopy. It was a many-colored canopy. He was looking toward the common folk; the Spaniards stood crowded about him and took counsel among themselves.

Auh in capitan tlapčco vallachixtica in amaxac, Axtavatzin itlapanco, cevalcalco, tlatlapalli in cevalcalli, quimoojtztica in macevaltin, cololhujtoque in Españoles, mononotztoque.

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And [on our side] were Quauhtemoc and the other noblemen[4] — the ruler's vicar[5] Tlacotzin, the lords' judge[6] Petlauhtzin, the captain of the armies[7] Motelchiuhtzin, the constable[8] of Mexico, and the lord priest;[9] and also the rulers of Tlatilulco — the

Auh in Quauhtemoctzin; youan in oc cequjntin tlatoque. Civacoatl tlacotzin. Tlillancalquj. vitznaoatl. Petlauhtzin. Motelchiuhtzi mexicatl. Achcauhtli, Tecutlamacazcatzin. Niman in ichoantin in tlatilulco tlatoque. Tlacochcalcatl. Coiovevetzin. tla-

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565

1. Soler, *op. cit.*, p. 546, translates *cuxtoll* (corrected *cuztoll*) as *Marjasse*. See, however, Simeon, *op. cit.*
2. Soler, *loc. cit.*, has *vin Wirbelwind* (?).
3. See Chapter 34, n. 5.
4. We have rearranged the first few of the nobles as Soler does in *op. cit.*, p. 547, for the sake of more logical reading.
5. *Cihuacoatl*. Cf. Clark, *op. cit.*, III, fol. 3; also Juan de Torquemada: *Segunda parte de los veinte i un libros rituales i monarchia indiana* (Madrid: Nicolas Rodrigues Franco, 1723), II, p. 552; Chimalpahin, *op. cit.*, p. 198.
6. *Tlillancalqui*. Cf. Clark, *op. cit.*, fol. 68. For *tlilancalcatl*, Torquemada, *op. cit.*, p. 178, has *tecuhtzin coaqui*.
7. *Tlacochcalcatl*. Cf. Clark, *op. cit.*, fol. 67.
8. *Achcauhtli*. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, III — *The Origin of the Gods*, p. 33.
9. *Tecutlamacazcatzin*. Cf. Clark, *op. cit.*, II, p. 117.

701 565 general[10] Coyouecuetzin; the commanding general Temilotzin; the army commander[11] Topantemoctzin; the chief justice[12] Auelitoctzin; the captain of the armies[13] Uitzilinitzin; the Tlacopan ruler Uitzitzin. All of these rulers were assembled at Tolmayecan; they appeared to consult among themselves how this should be done: what we should offer as tribute, and how we should yield to [the Spaniards].

728 Thereafter only two [men] took Quauhtemoc in a boat. The two who took him and went with him were the seasoned warrior Tepuztzitoloc, and Yaztachimal, Quauhtemoc's page. And the one who poled [the boat] was named Cenyaotl.

And when they carried Quauhtemoc off, then there was weeping among all the common folk. They said: "Now goeth the young lord Quauhtemoc; now he goeth to deliver himself to the gods, the Spaniards!"

catteccatl. Temjlotzin. Ticociauacatl. Topantemoctzin. Mixcoatlailotlactzin. Auelitoctzin, vitznacatl. vitzilivitzin. tepanecatl vitzitzin: in nuchiuhtin in tlatoque, in ocentlaliticatca tolmaiecan monomotztoca in quenjn muchioaz in tlein tictequjtizque: auh in quenjn intlan tocalaquizque.

Niman ie ic quivica in Quauhtemoctzin, acaltica, çan ommote: vmêtin in conviccaque, itlan ietiaque. Tepuztzitoloc tequjoa, yoan Jaztachimal ixolouh in Quauhtemoctzin. Auh ce qujtlanelhujtia itoca Cenjnotl:

auh in jquac ie quivica in Quauhtemoctzin: njmá ie ic mochoquilia in ixquich nacevalli quitoque. Je iauh in tlacatl xocoiotl in Quauhtemoctzin ie iauh quinnomacaz in teteu in Españoles.

10. Tlaccochcalcatl. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, loc. cit.

11. Tlacatecuhtl. Cf. Clark, op. cit., I, fol. 45. The suffix is omitted in the Florentine Codex.

12. Hueytlatoani. Cf. Clark, op. cit., fol. 58.

13. Tlacochcalcatl. Cf. Chimalpahin, op. cit., p. 142. Carrasco de Salazar, op. cit., III, p. 288, mentions capture of the same date as Quauhtemoc of the ruler of Tacuba (Tlacopan); so does Ixtlilxochitl, op. cit., p. 68.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

635 Teonochtitlan,[7] Teopantlan,[8] and Ytzucan.[9] Tezozomoc speaks of
175 Coatlalpan as being situated near the Marquesado.[10]

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—Tepeacac and her subject towns paid the following tribute to the Empire:

FOOD

[562] 4 wooden cribs (2 of maize and 2 of beans)[11]

OTHER GOODS

[317] 4,000 loads of lime
[314] 4,000 loads of thick canes
[281] 8,000 loads of canes for arrow shafts
483 800 deerskins
8,000 loads of *acayetl* "performes que usan para la boca"
200 *cacaxtles*[12]

632 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Ahuatlan (a) paid a tribute of
651 cane.[13]

Coatzinco supplied cane, shields made of the same material, spearheads, bows and arrows, and white lime.[14]

[701] Texalucan (b) claimed to have given military service only—the enemies including the distant Coixca.[15]

Çoyatitlanapa (c) paid a tribute of canes, spearheads, white lime, shields made of cane, and wild cotton for padding armor.[16]

[7] More exactly, Tepexuxuma, next door to Teonochtitlan. *PNE*, 1: No. 540.
[8] *PNE*, 1: No. 559.
[9] *PNE*, 1: No. 392.
[10] Tezozomoc, *Crónica mexicana* (1878), pp. 533–534: "los pueblos de Coatla[l]pan y ... la tierra caliente, que ahora llaman del Marquesado."
[11] Wooden frames for carrying goods on the back with a tumpline.
[12] *PNE*, 5: 82–83: "Dicen que en tiempo de su ynfidelidad fueron vasallos de Motecçoma y sus pasados, y que le seruian y tributauan rrodelas de canas maçiças que en lengua mexicana llaman otlatl."
[13] *PNE*, 5: 95: "Dicen fueron vasallos de Motecçoma y de los Señores de Mexico, y le seruian con rrodelas de cana maçiça, con canas fuertes, y nauajas para lanças, cal blanca, flecha y arco para pelear."
[14] *PNE*, 5: 86: "Dizen que fueron vasallos de Motecçuma y sus pasados," making war against the "prouinçia de Coyaco y captiuauan gente que lleuavan a Mexico a Motecçuma para que se sacrificasse." For Coixca, see section on Tepequacuilco, p. 17, n. 41.
[15] *PNE*, 5: 90: "En tiempo de su ynfidelidad eran de Motecçuma, señor de Mexico, y sus pasados dauanle de tributo cal blanca, canas maçiças grandes, y nauajas para poner en las lanças, y rrodelas de cana maçiça para pelear, y algodon: algodon siluestre para jacos y cosseletes que vestian los hombres de guerra, que todo lo rreferido lleuauan a Mexico."

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

[181] like customs and propensities. *War*, at first *defensive*, afterwards *offensive*, became the *life of the tribe*. Religion demanded it for its bloody rites; revenge, so deeply rooted in Indian nature, called for it at every moment. But especially was it required for the *subsistence* of the tribe, whose increasing numbers could not live from agriculture on the scanty soil allotted to them, and who, therefore, were compelled to depend upon the spoils gathered from inroads upon their neighbours. *If there was no war in progress, the Mexicans deemed themselves "idle."*[7] We may therefore presume that the military organization of the Mexicans, their preparations for warfare, and the mode of the latter, are features of [701] importance, and worthy of serious attention.

[852] Every male of the Mexican tribe was born a warrior. When still a babe his father placed alongside of the child a small bow[8] and some arrows, in token of its future duties. There was no military caste at Tenuchtitlan or Mexico; with the exception of children, old people, infirm or crippled persons, and sometimes priests, every one had to go to war. Boys fifteen years old were taken along, and in some instances it was even directed "that no "youth over fifteen years of age should remain; that all had to "go, except children and old people."[9] Thus there was no "standing army" the available force being composed of all the able-bodied men of the tribe of Mexico.[10]

[7] Tezozomoc (Cap. XXI, p. 32). "Pasados algunos años dijo el rey Moctezuma á "Zihuacoatl Tlacaeleltzin general y oydor: pareceme que ha muchos dias que estamos "muy *ociosos*." This term, "idle," applies to the lack of any war, since immediately thereafter the war against Chalco was kindled by the most wanton provocation on the part of the Mexicans.

[8] Fr. X. Clavigero (Storia del Messico. Cesena, 1780. Lib. VI, cap. XXXVI). Francisco Lopez de Gomara ("Historia general de las Indias." Second part, "Conquista "de Méjico," contained in the collection of Vedia, volume I,—"This done, they put in "the right hand of the child, an arrow if a boy, a shuttle if a girl, to mark that he would "have to improve by the use of arms, and she by spinning and weaving," p. 438, Vedia, I). Torquemada (Lib. XIII, cap. XX, p. 490, of Vol. II, says this was done four days after the birth of the child). Clavigero intimates that only those children "whose fathers were warriors," received the token, but this is not at all confirmed. Motolinia ("Historia de los Indios de la Nueva-España" in "Coleccion de Documentos para la "Historia de Mexico," by Señor Icazbalceta, Mexico, 1866, volume I. "Y entonces si "era varon poníanle una saeta en la mano, . . . el varon porque fuese valiente para "defender á si y á la patria, porque las guerras eran muy ordinarias cada año." Tra- [463] tado I. cap. V, p. 37). There were no hereditary professions or trades, so to say.

[9] Tezozomoc (Cap. LXXXIV, p. 141, and cap. XC, p. 158). Acosta (Lib. IV, cap. XXVI, pp. 442 and 443).

[10] What the Germans call "*Allgemeine Wehrpflicht*," existed among the Mexicans on the most extensive scale. But their forces, although always ready, never went *permanently* outside of the pueblo, for they were not numerous enough, and did not gather

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

We have not the slightest reliable indication concerning the *strength* and numbers of that force.[11] This point is as vague and indefinite as the number of the population of the pueblo itself. Both, being closely connected, suffer from the same contradictions and exaggerations.[12] It is true that a "guard" of 10,000 men is mentioned as having occupied always the square of the main temple ("teocalli").[13] But, aside from the grossly exaggerated numbers, "guards," in the sense of a military body doing permanent duty, were unknown to the Mexicans.[14] The scanty mention of a body guard of Montezuma appears an imaginary tale if we look for its presence where and when it should have been most conspicuous: at the meeting of Montezuma and Cortés on the causeway,[15] and when Cortés carried that chieftain away from his house as a hostage. It is an established fact, that only unarmed Indians met Cortés on his entrance to Mexico, and it is equally positive, that no "guard" came to Montezuma's rescue.

stores in sufficient quantities for such a purpose. Within the pueblo of Mexico there was no need of being armed, and therefore every Mexican went unarmed in the pueblo. The "guards" of which Gomara and Bernal-Diez both speak, never existed. See Gomara ("En la ciudad nadie trae armas, ..." p. 345, vol. I, Vedia).

[11] Not even Bernal-Diez contains a statement. Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxochitl ("Relaciones historicas," Relacion XIIIa, in Vol. IX of Lord Kingsborough's Antiquities of Mexico, "De la venida de los Españoles," translated also into the French by Mr. Ternaux-Compans, and published under the title of "Cruautés Horribles des conquérants du Mexique," in the first series of his inestimable collection of translations) says: "the Mexicans lost over 240,000 men" during the siege of Mexico. The only reasonable approximate I found in Durán (Hist. de las Indias, etc., cap. XXXVII, pp. 287 and 288). Before the Mexicans (including Tezcuco and Tlacopan and the others of the valley) set out against Michhuacan, in 1479, they counted their forces and found 24,000 men ("allaron que auia veinte y cuatro mil combatientes"). This is possible.

[12] The population of Mexico is variously reported. The extremes are: 60,000 *souls* ("sessanta mila habitatori") of the "Anonymous Conqueror" (Col. de Doc., Icazbalceta. Vol. I, p. 391), and 60,000 *families*.

[13] The length of the walls of that square was "one cross-bow shot," after Gomara. How could 10,000 *men remain there always*, besides the priests and their numerous assistants?

[14] "Guardas" are mentioned by Bernal-Diez del Castillo ("Historia verdadera de la conquista de Nueva-España" in vol. II, of Sr. Vedia's collection, cap. XCV); by Gomara (p. 342 of vol. I, Vedia). Torquemada (Lib. II. cap. VI, p. 544, vol. II), and others. But Cortés and Andrés de Tapia make no mention of them.

[15] Three eye-witnesses of that celebrated meeting have described it: Cortés ("Cartas de Relacion," in Vedia, I, "Carta Segunda," p. 25). Bernal-Diez (Vedia, II, cap. LXXXVIII, p. 83), and Andrés de Tapia ("Relacion hecha por el Señor Andrés de Tápia, sobre la conquista de Mexico," in vol. II, of Icazbalceta's Col. de Documentos, p. 578). Neither of them would have omitted to notice armed men among the Indians, had there been any with Montezuma.

The Mexicans, on their part, could not have failed to make an ostentatious display of armed soldiery, had they existed, when they met the armed strangers at the entrance to the pueblo.

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

701 [648] (Cortés' daring and successful seizure of the Mexican chieftain was easier than it is generally supposed, since the tribe was not prepared for it, but only for outside enemies.)[16]

712 701 It is equally untrue that any Mexican "garrisons" were maintained among conquered and subjected tribes.[17] The military power of the Mexicans was preserved at home, in a latent state, so to say, but still, as we shall hereafter see, ready to sally forth at a signal from the council of chiefs directing their affairs. But this presupposed, on the part of the tribe, systematic *training*, proper *armament*, and a peculiar *organization*.

868 At an early age the boy was taught the use of the bow and arrow in fishing and hunting;[18] also the use of the dart or javelin. The *chase*, both on land and water, was an introduction to the stern duty of *war*.

[16] Ixtlilxochitl ("Histoire des Chichimèques ou des anciens rois de Tezcuco," translation of Mr. Ternaux-Compans, chapter 85. "All the Spaniards forthwith returned to "their palace, together with a great number of lords of the city, parents and friends of "the King, which sought to read from his countenance whether he wished them to free "him again). The same author (Relacion XIIIa. "The nobility, and all the military "chiefs of Mexico, dumbfounded by this occurrence, returned to their houses"). Gomara, who (Vedia, I, p. 345. "Corte y guarda de Moteczuma,") mentions 3,000 body guards, forgets them completely (p. 351) when he relates Montezuma's capture. Cortés (Carta-segunda. Vedia, I, p. 27) does not speak of any guard being with the chief. [643] Neither does A. de Tápia. Col. de Doc. II, p. 560.) The capture of Montezuma did not, however, have the desired effect. He was not as powerful as the Spaniards believed, and his influence vanished as soon as he was a prisoner, and therefore actually disqualified for office.

[17] The bodies of Mexican warriors which Cortés may have met at different places outside of Mexico when he moved upon that tribe the second time, were not garrisoning those places, but simply corps sent out specially against the Spaniards. Neither at Cempoal, nor at Quiahuiztlan, had he met garrisons of Mexican troops. In the fight wherein Juan de Escalante was killed, *natives of the country*, and *not Mexicans*, opposed him. Quauhpopoca *was not a Mexican governor*, but "chief of that place called "Almeria" (Cortés, Carta Seg., Vedia, I, p. 26), "a vassal of Montezuma" (A. de Tápia, p. 579), "chief of Nahutlan" (Gomara, p. 334) (Clavigero, lib. VIII, cap. XXX).

Iztapalapan, Mexicaltzinco, Huitzilopochco, were not held by Mexican warriors when Cortes passed through those places. On the route from Cempoal to the confines of Tlaxcallan, through a country overrun formerly by the Mexicans, and tributary to them, there was not a single specifically Mexican stronghold, and no other Mexicans or Aztecs were met by Cortés than messengers and collectors of tribute; without any armed retinue whatever. No Mexican force hovered about the confines of Tlaxcallan, their most dangerous enemy, or "occupied" Chalco, the most warlike and unruly tribe of the valley, which Mexico had overpowered. Only the fear of the murderous forays which the Mexicans might execute, from their almost invincible stronghold in the lagune, held those tribes in subjection; and no permanent military occupation. Tápia says: "In the conquered districts they put stewards and collectors, and although their [651] "own chiefs commanded the people, they were below Mexican power." (p. 579, Col. de Doc., II.)

[18] A. de Humboldt ("Vues des Cordillères et monuments des peuples indigènes de "l'Amérique." Ed. 1816, 8vo, tom., II, p. 313). Also, "Raccolta di Mendoza," in Lord Kingsborough.

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

Almost insensibly we have here abandoned the field of the armament of the Mexicans, entering, nay, trespassing, upon that of their *military organization*. 701

This organization is but imperfectly known to us. Still, its knowledge is of the highest importance, since, with a tribe as essentially warlike as the Mexicans, military institutions are often blended with those of civil life, and we may presume that the same principle pervades both; that the degree of development of the one gives a clue to that of the other. According as we picture to ourselves the condition of ancient Mexican society, we shall view and judge their military organization.

All the older authors upon Mexico; and they have been implicitly followed by the great mass of subsequent writers, describe to us a Mexican empire, with an hereditary nobility and an *elective* despot at its head. This autocrat was not only absolute civil chief, he was also Judge and military commander. He declared peace and war, directed the forces, he nominated and deposed officers at his pleasure. Some restraints are allowed, occasionally, to have existed, upon such a power analogous only to that of the despots of Asia, but even the most distinguished writers of *modern* times have unhesitatingly accepted the picture of an absolute Indian monarchy in Mexico.[69] 114

Still this picture, however tempting and fascinating, to imagination especially, has not always satisfied the student's mind. Without placing much stress on the clumsy attacks of James Adair[70] upon the Spanish authors on Mexico, or on De Pauw's injudicious "Researches,"[71] we meet, however, with an earnest and careful criticism in Robertson's classical work. While the great

[69] A. de Humboldt ("Essai politique sur la Nouvelle Espagne," 1825, Lib. II, chap. VI, p. 374, "Leur systeme de feódalité, leur hiérarchie civile et militaire se trouvant dés "lors si compliqués, qu'il faut supposer une longue suite, d'évènements politiques pour "que l'enchainement singulier des autorités de la noblesse et du clergé ait pu s'établir; "et pour qu'une petite portion du peuple, esclave elle-même du sultan Méxicain, ait "pu subjuguer la grande masse de la nation"). W. H. Prescott ("History of the Conquest of Mexico," Book I, chapter II, p. 23. Book II, chapter VI. p. 312). Brasseur de Bourbourg ("Histoire des Nations civilisées du Mexique et de l'Amérique Centrale"), and H. H. Bancroft (Native Races of the Pacific States"). I quote but the most prominent writers on Mexico of this (19th) century.

[70] James Adair ("History of the American Indians," London, 1775).

[71] "Recherches philosophiques sur les Américains," a very injudicious book, which, by its extravagance and audacity, created a great deal of harm. It permitted Clavigero to attack even Robertson, because the latter had also applied sound criticism to the study of American aboriginal history, and by artfully placing both as upon the same platform, to counteract much of the good effects of Robertson's work.

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

purpose of describing institutions to which this foreign terminology never was adapted. It is this expedient, invented in order to become *understood abroad*, and because there were no other points of comparison given by science at that time, which opposes the greatest difficulties to the study of American antiquities. This obstacle may, to a certain extent, be overcome by establishing the true signification of the *native term* for every institution considered, for every office, as far as this is possible; using *native terminology* as indicative of the true character of *native life*. This course we shall attempt to pursue, in treating the military organization of the Mexicans.[75]

The tribe of Mexico had, soon after its settlement in the marsh where the pueblo was subsequently built up, divided into four sections, or "quarters" ("calpulli"),[76] each of these being composed of certain clusters of kindred, "minor quarters," as Torquemada call them.[77] The four great quarters remained as the principal sub-divisions of the tribe for civil as well as military purposes, and the armed men of each constituted a separate body, regardless of

[75] Thus the Mexican word for tribe, town, and settlement is the same: "altepetl," but the Spaniards have applied it to king also (Molina, II, p. 4). The name "tlatoani," which the Mexicans gave to their principal chiefs, and which is translated into king, signifies "one who speaks" ("hablador," Molina, II, p. 14b), from "nitlatoa," to speak ("tlatolli," speech). The council was called "tlatocan," "place of speech," but Molina translates it as "court or palace of great lords." The term "speech," or, rather, the verb "to speak," is found in a number of native terms, like "tlatoca-icpalli," "seat of "the one who speaks," which has been rendered, also, as "throne." There is certainly no approach to a royal title in all this. The so-called "King" was only "one of those "who spoke;" a prominent member of the council. A court of justice, "audiencia," was also "tecutlatoloyan," or "chiefs who are speaking, or bowing their heads."

[76] Durán (Cap. V, p. 42). Acosta (Lib. VII, cap. VII, p. 467). Tezozomoc (Cap. III, p. 9). Herrera (Dec. III, lib II, cap. II, p. 61). "Popol Vuh." Introduction, p. 117, note No. 1, by Mr. Brasseur de Bourbourg, "Enfin, presque toutes les villes ou tribus "sont partagées en quatre clans ou quartiers, dont les chefs forment le grand conseil." Tlatilulco, which was conquered by the Mexicans in 1473, subsequently formed a fifth "quarter." The names of the four original ones were: "Teopan" (place of God). "Aztacalco" (house of the heron), "Moyotlan" (place of the musquito), and "cuepopan." They subsequently formed, under Spanish rule, the *wards* of San Pablo, San Juan, Santa María la Redonda, and San Sebastian. Tlatilulco became the "Indian-ward," and was called Santiago.

[77] (Lib. XIV, cap. VII, p. 545) " . . . . y así estaba ordenado, que en cada pueblo, "conforme tenia el numero, y cantidad de gente, huviese parcialidades de diversas "gentes, y familias. . . . . Estas Parcialidades estaban repartidas por Calpules, "que son Barrios, y sucedia, que una Parcialidad de estas dichas tenia tres, y quatro, "y mas, Calpules, conforme la gente tenia el pueblo, ..." Durán (Cap. V, p. 42) is more explicit, even. After having stated that the Mexicans divided into four principal quarters, he says: "their god commanded them that they should distribute among "themselves the gods, and that each quarter should name and designate particular "quarters where these gods would be worshipped; and thus each quarter divided into

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

numbers.[78] They in turn subdivided into squads of from two to four hundred warriors each,[79] being, in all probability, the able-bodied males (priests excepted in many cases) of one particular "kin."[80] These lesser bodies had each their own peculiar "livery,"[81] they carried their own emblem, visible, like a banner, "high above the troop," and finally they disaggregated into fractions of about twenty men.[82] On the eve of an engagement a further sub-division, into groups of four to six, took place, as we shall hereafter see.

Having thus sketched, as far as we can, the *division* or *arrangement* of the Mexican forces, we have yet to investigate how, and by whom, the warriors of the tribe were commanded, how those leaders obtained their offices, and what was the order of their rank and dignity. But here we must premise: *that no office whatever*,

many small ones, according to the number of idols, which they called Calpulteona" (should be "Calpulteotzin"). But their division into at least seven such "barrios," or kindred groups, existed already before this event (Tezozomoc, Cap. I, p. 6. Durán, Cap. III, p. 20). "Rapport sur les differentes classes de Chefs de la Nouvelle-Espagne," par Alonzo de Zurita. French translation by Mr. Ternaux-compans. This important authority, among other statements, makes the striking remark: "Finally, what is called "in New-Spain a calpulli corresponds to what the Jews called a tribe" (p. 53).

[78] Tezozomoc (Cap. XCI, p. 161). When, under the last Montezuma, the fight against Huexotzinco was begun "Cuaubnoctli took charge to assemble together the four lead-"ers of the four quarters for that the arms might be held in readiness."

[79] Anonymous Conqueror (p. 371). Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. XXIV).

[80] "These bodies of two to four hundred men are those mentioned by Durán (Cap. XIX, p. 169) as "cuadrillas," "escadrones," carrying each the "emblem" ("bandera") of its "quarter" ("barrio"). In this case he refers to the "minor quarters." See note No. 82, below.

[81] "Anonymous Conqueror;" also, Bernal-Diez, quoted in text, above.

[82] Anon. Conqueror (p. 371). "ha ogni compagnia il suo Alfiere con la sua insigna "inhastata, en tal modo ligata sopra le spalle, che non gli da alcun distorbo di poter "combattere ni far cioche vuole, y la porta cosi ligata bene al corpo, che se non fanno "del suo corpo pezzi, non se gli puo sligare, ne torglielamai." Clavigero says (Cap. XXIV, lib. VII): "The banners were more like the "signi" of the Romans than our "flags." The following paragraph of Durán makes it plain that they represented the token of each original body of kindred: "After having eaten, the captains said to their "people: behold, men, that being intermingled with the enemy, some of you might "lose sight of his squadron, therefore Tlacaelel ordains that of each quarter there shall "be an emblem, carried high above the troop, with the arms of such quarter on it, and "that all shall be careful to rally around that banner and flag, and that, besides, they "should call out the names of their respective quarter, so as to be known" (Cap. XIX, p. 169). We have ample descriptions of the emblems of the four quarters of Tlaxcallan, but none of those of Mexico. It is doubtful if there was a national emblem, or central ensign. The statement, that the capture of that central "emblem" decided the fate of the battle, is also very doubtful, notwithstanding Bernal-Diez' pompous description of the fight near Otumpan. See hereafter. It may not be devoid of interest to note here that the Mexican sign for the number *twenty* (20,—"pohualli") was a *flag*. Still, the name for the latter was "quachpanitl," from "quachtli," mantle, and "pani," above.

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

no kind of dignity, was, among the Mexicans, transmissible by *in-heritance. Merit* alone, *on the battlefield*, could promote to the rank of war-chief, by inducing and influencing the *elections* held for that purpose.[83] The civil-chief ("Tecuhtli," from "Tecul," *grandfather*) secured his office through rigorous religious observances and age.[84] *There was no nobility of any kind at Mexico*, the chief being chief only as long as he was by his constituents deemed worthy of that position.[85]

Above the common warrior ("yaoquizqui") there were two classes of superiors: the distinguished braves, and the war-chiefs proper.

Of the distinguished and meritorious braves, which had not, however, attained the chieftainship, we know three different kinds: the "fierce cutters," or "beasts of prey" ("Tequihua"), the "strong eagles," or "old eagles" ("Cuachic," or "Cuachimec"), and the "wandering arrows" ("Otomitl").[86] These titles were merely honorific, and could be obtained exclusively through the capture, in actual combat, of one or more prisoners. In token of these dignities the hair of the head was cropped closely over the ear; they wore, chiefly, but not exclusively, the masks or helmets

[83] Anonymous Conqueror (p. 371) "They used to reward highly those who distin-"guished themselves in war by any valorous action, for even if he was the vilest slave, "they made him captain and lord, and gave to him slaves, and esteemed him so much, "that wherever he went they attended to him and paid him such regards as if he had "been the chief himself."

"Mendieta (Lib. II, caps. XXXVIII and XXXIX). Ternaux-Compans ("Recueil de "Pièces, etc.," "Des cérémonies observées autrefois par les Indiens lorsqu'ils faisaient "un tecle." Zurita ("Rapport, etc.:" p. 47). "The chiefs who, as we have said, were "called Tec Tecutzcin, or Teutley, held their office only during life-time." (p. 49.) "If "one of them died, the prince gave the office to one who had proven himself worthy of "it, for the sons of the deceased did not inherit of his dignity, unless they had been "invested with it."

[85] See, further on, the case of the last Montezuma.

[86] These definitions we give for what they may be worth, without in the least insisting upon their absolute correctness. "Tequihua" may derive from "nitla-tequi," to cut, or from "tequani," wild beast. "Cuachic," from "quauhtli," eagle, and "chicactic," an old man, or a strong object, or, also (though this is hardly probable), "chimalli," shield. "Otomitl" probably derives from "N. otoca," to travel, and "mitl," arrow. But this was also the name given to the "Otomies," a well-known savage tribe, expert hunters, found scattered over Mexico, among or around the sedentary Indians. It looks strange for the Mexicans to give to one of their meritorious braves the title of a wandering horde, far below the Mexicans in culture. But the Otomies were good hunters, skilled in the use of the bow, and it is therefore likely that they were named thus by the Mexicans themselves, and that their name is not, as Mr. Brasseur de Bourbourg intimates, derived from a supposed god, "Odon," or "Oton" ("Popol Vuh," Introd., pp. 76 and 116). The Otomi word for God was "Oqhá," their word for man, "ña nyéhá" ("Grammatica ragionata della Lingua Otomi," of Count Piccolomini, Rome, 1841, after Neve y Molina).

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14:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

701 554 imitating wild animals' heads, and sometimes even the skins of those animals.[87] Their post was in the van of the army, as scouts and skirmishers, but they also acted as leaders of smaller bodies, like four to twenty men, and even larger subdivisions, at the option of their superiors.[88]

701 555 Neither of the above three grades could be obtained through appointment or election; every warrior became entitled, as soon as he had accomplished certain feats in war, to one or the other thereof.[89]

[87] Tezozomoc (Cap. XCVI, p. 171). After the successful raid of the Mexicans against Tuctepec (under the last Montezuma) it was found that 260 of the "tequihua" had made prisoners, and that an equal number were made "tequihua." "Anonymous Conqueror" (p. 373.) "To him who thus distinguished himself they made a mark, by a "peculiar cut of the hair, that he might be known for his deeds, and that everybody "might see it, since they did not accustom to wear the head covered. Every time that "he accomplished another notable action they put another similar mark on him . . ." See also Torquemada (Lib. XIV, cap. V, p. 543). Durán (Cap. XIX, p. 109) is very positive, too. Clavigero (Lib. XII, cap. XXIII). "The commanders . . . . the head "was inserted in a wooden head of a tiger or of a snake, its mouth wide open, and "with large teeth, to appear more frightful."

[88] Durán (Cap. XXXVII, p. 289). " . . . . Aviendo puesto en delantera todos "los soldados viejos y señores y capitanes y todos aquellos que ellos llamaban Cua-"chic, que eran una órden de caballeria que no auia de voluer piè atras ó morir . . " . ." Tezozomoc says of the "Otomies, Cuachi, and Tequihuaques . . . . being "always leaders" ("siendo siempre delanteros." Cap. XXXVIII, p. 60, also, cap. LVII, p. 97). The same author (Cap. XXXVIII, p. 61, and cap. LI, p. 83) affirms that they had to care for the freshmen or young braves (Id., Cap. LXXI, p. 121). The same (Cap. LI, p. 83) says: " . . . . and you will, as it is customary, place to every five youths "a Cuachic, to five others an Otomi, then again an Achcauhtli, and a Tequihua; all "conquerors." This was done immediately before the opening of the engagement. The "Otomitl" is also called by Tezozomoc a "general" occasionally, but this merely shows that, at the option of the war-chiefs, one or the other of the above warriors of merit might be placed at the head of a larger body of men, though he was always considered as of a lower rank. Sahagun (Lib. IX, cap. VI, p. 264). "El hombre ò varon "fuerte llamado Coachic, tiene estas propiedades; es el amparo y muralla de los suyos "etc., etc." Torquemada (Lib. IV, cap. XCIX, p. 565) calls the "Quachicque" bullies ("matasiete").

[89] By this we wish to say that neither personal favor nor other prominent qualities could procure the titles which we now regard, to any one who had not distinguished himself in war. The titles were conferred immediately after the engagement, or after the return to Mexico. Who conferred them, and what ceremonies, aside from the hair-cutting mentioned, accompanied the act, we are unable to say. The Mexicans were 685 extremely careful to allow each man the prisoner he had taken, and the "penalty for "abstracting a captive to his rightful conqueror was death." Mendieta (Lib. II, cap. XXVII, p. 132). "El que llevaba algun prisionero, si otro se lo hurtaba de dia ò de "noche, ò tomaba por fuerza, por el mismo caso moria como cosario ladron que se "adjudicaba y queria para si el precio y la honra del otro." The reason for this vigorous chastisement was, not only because the original captor lost thereby his object of sacrifice to the gods, but really more because the thief stole away his rank and title.

Acosta (Lib. VI, cap. XXVI, p. 434). Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. XXI). Both mention three "military orders," "orders of chivalry." The latter calls them "achcantin," "quauhtin," and "ocoicelo," translating these terms by "princes," "eagles," and "tigers," respectively. Acosta is not so far from the truth when he asserts that each of

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

The war-chiefs proper furnished the higher commanders of the Mexicans. We meet with three classes thereof in ascending orders. The chiefs of *kindred*, or *captains;* also chief of the "*minor quarters.*" The chiefs of the great subdivisions (*principal quarters*); also mentioned as "captain-generals." The head war-chief of the *tribe*, or so-called "king." All these chiefs were *elected*, and their office was not transmissible by inheritance.[90]

The captains, "commanders of the quarters,"[91] teachers of the young "men,"[92] properly called "elder brothers"[93] ("*teachcauhtin*," or "achcacauhtin," and "tiacanes," by corruption), commanded the subdivisions of two to four hundred men each, com-

these subdivisions had its peculiar place of sitting in the official house, or "tecpan" (the "palace" of the older sources. Tecpan derives from "tecuhtli," chief, and "pan," affixum denoting a place), since, at a general council of the tribe (of which this may be an indication), the different grades of warriors would naturally cluster together. But the names given to these three "orders" are erroneous. "Achcauhtin" (which, as we shall see, never meant *princes*, for which the Mexicans had no adequate word) was the title of a class of war-chiefs only. "Quauhtin" is the "Cuachic," "ocelotl" evidently the "tequihua." But the last two titles were never used for the higher grades of warriors except in a general way; "quauhtin-ocelotl" designated the valorous braves in general (Torquemada, Lib. XI, cap. XXIX, p. 302; lib. XIV, cap. II, p. 537), and corresponds to the "daring eagles, tigers, and lions," as Tezozomoc often calls the three grades now under discussion.

Torquemada, who, notwithstanding his unquestionable credulity, is extremely important on all questions of Mexican antiquities, says (Lib. XIV, cap. V, p. 543): "Los Cap-"itanes tenian por insignia de honra una labor, etc., etc., ... guarnecidas, con "pinturas, e' insignias, conforme cada uno havia mostrado el valor, y valentia en las "guerras, en que se havia hallado, porque no sacaba otra cosa del peligro de ellas; y "asi como cosa ganada, por sus proprias personas, las estimaban en mucho." Every one had to gain his own rank, merit his own title.

[90] All these offices were elective, and we shall endeavor to prove it in each particular case.

[91] Ternaux-Compans ("Recueil de pieces relatives à la conquête du Mexique." Anonymous MSS. from the Uguina collection, headed "De l'ordre de succession observé "par les Indiens relativement a leurs terres et de leurs territoires communaux," p. 225) says: "Les tribunaux de ces officiers étaient établis dans la capitale." Clavigero calls them "princes." Torquemada: "captain of the guards." Sahagun: "old men." Mendieta, even: "chief abbott." This very confusion shows that neither of them paid much attention to the subject, since Sahagun also calls the "tiacauh" (which is the same as "achcacauhtin") "el hombre valiente" (Lib. IX, cap. VI, p. 263), and Torquemada the "achcauhtli," "alguacil maior." Tezozomoc alone is consistent with himself, in mentioning the "achcacauhtin," frequently, as *leaders in the fight*, commanding the three grades of distinguished braves (Cap. XXXVIII). He is confirmed by Molina (I, p. 23), who translates "teachcauhtin" as "capitan de gente." Tezozomoc further calls them: "principals, masters at arms, and of doctrine and example" (Cap. XXXVIII, p. 61), "chiefs of the quarters, masters of the youth" (Cap. LVII).

[92] Tezozomoc (Cap. XXXVIII and cap. LVII).

[93] Molina (II, p. 113), "tiachcauh,"—"hermano mayor, y persona, o cosa aventajada, "mayor, y mas excelente que otra." Zurita ("Rapport," p. 60) calls the "chiefs of the calpullis" major parents ("pariente mayor"). This corresponds with the definition of Molina.

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

posed,[94] as we have seen, of "the able-bodied men (priests excepted) of one particular group of kindred;" said group forming a sub-division of the four principal quarters of Mexico. Besides leading their files in combat, it was their duty when at home, to instruct the youth of their section in the use and practice of arms. They held their office for life, or as long as they gave satisfaction.[95]

As an exterior token of their rank the "captains" wore large ear-rings and lip-pendants of richer material than their predecessors, and carried rods or staffs in their hands when on duty.[96]

A certain number of these captains, corresponding to the "minor quarters" or groups of kindred contained in the principal quarter to which they belonged, were under the direction of the *war-chief*, or as the Spanish authors call him, the "captain-general" *of that largest subdivision of the tribe.* There were consequently *four* chiefs of that rank at Mexico,[97] and it is probable that a fifth one was added to them not long before the conquest, to command the warriors of Tlatilulco.[98]

Beyond the mere facts of their existence, of their being always elected for life-time, and a strong supposition that their titles are given by all authorities, without stating it positively, however, little is known unfortunately, about these chieftains.[99] They were

[94] Sahagun (Lib. IX, cap. VI. p. 264). "El maestro de campo o capitan es de esta "calidad, que para mostrar su oficio trae coleta cabellos que cuelga atras, y bezote y "oregeras, y trae siempre sus armas consigo." (The latter is doubtful, *at least.*)

[95] Durán (Cap. XXVI, p. 216). In regard to their eligibility, see Ternaux-Compans ("Recueil de Pièces," "De l'ordre de succession," p. 225), "Il n'y avait pas d'autres élections d'officiers." Although untrue in regard to the "other officers." Zurita ("Rapport," p. 61). "The election takes place among themselves."

[96] Durán (Cap. XIX, p. 169), "luego salieron los viejos que tenian oficios de ordenar "la gente de guerra, que eran como maestres de campo, con sus bastones en las manos "y unas cintas apretadas á la cabeça y unas oregeras de concha, largas, y unas bezotes "en los labios, muy bien armados, y empeçaron á componer la gente." Also, Sahagun (Lib. IX, cap. VI, p. 264).

[97] Tezozomoc (Cap. XCI, p. 161): "Cuauhnoctli took charge to assemble together "the four leaders of the four quarters, for that the arms might be ready." The origin of these four titles and dignities dates back to the successful foray against Cuyuacan (under Itzcoatl); at least, then they are first mentioned (Tezozomoc: Cap. XV, p. 34, and Durán: Cap. XI, p. 97). As members of the council of chiefs, they appear, however, always as "principal chiefs" only. Tezozomoc being the only one who, to our knowledge, speaks of the "leaders of the four quarters" ("cuatro caudillos de los cuatro barrios").

"Torquemada (Lib. IV, cap. LXX, p. 490) speaks of "Itzquauhtin, señor de Tlatilulco," as companion of Montezuma during the latter's captivity among the Spaniards. He copies from Sahagun (Lib. XII).

[99] It is a very singular fact that the offices of these four principal war-chiefs should have attracted so little attention, but we may account for it by the prevailing assump-

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

members of the chief council,[100] and we suggest their titles to have been, respectively: "cutter of men" ("Tlacateccatl"), "man of the house of darts" ("Tlacochcalcatl"), "blood-shedder" ("Ezhuahuacatl"), and "chief of the eagle and tuna" ("Cuauhnochtecuhtli," or, abbreviated, "Cuauhnochtli").[101] We have no in-

tion of the existence of feudal institutions in Mexico. The divisions were treated as geographical sections only, the sub-divisions by kin were overlooked, and little importance was attached to the fact that every office was filled by election only, and never by appointment. Thus, says Durán (Cap. XI, p. 103), " . . . . y así electo uno destos "cuatro, luego ponian otro en su lugar." Acosta (Lib. VI, cap. XXV, p. 441): "Des- "pues del rey era el grado de los quatro como principes electores, los quales despues "de eligido el Rey, tambien ellos eran eligidos y de ordinario eran hermanos o' parien- "tos muy cercanos del Rey." Clavigero says positively (Lib. VII, cap. XXI): "The "highest military dignity was that of commanding general of the army. There were "four different classes of generals, among which the Tlacochcalcatl had the highest "rank. Each class had its particular tokens, but we are unable to determine how far "the three other classes were subordinate to the first. Neither can we give their names, "since the authors differ with each other on the subject. To the generals succeeded "the captains, each of which commanded a certain number of soldiers." See, besides, note below.

[100] Durán (Cap. XI, p. 103), after naming the four grades, or rather dignities, proceeds: "A estos quatro señores y ditados, despues de electos principes los hacian del "consejo real como presidentes y oydores del consejo supremo, sin parecer de los "quales ninguna cosa se avia de hacer." Acosta (Lib. VI, cap. XXV, p. 441).

[101] "Tlacochcalcatl," from "Tlacochtli," dart, "calli," house, "tlacatl," man. "Tla- catecatl,"—"tlacatl," man, "tequi," to cut or carve. "Ezhuahuacatl,"—"eztli," blood, "nanana," to scratch, "tlacatl," man. "Cuauhnochtecuhtli,"—"cuauhtli," eagle, "nochtli," tuna, "tecuhtli," chief. These four titles, as pertaining to the four principal Mexican chiefs, are given by Durán (Cap. XI, p. 102). Acosta (Lib. VI, cap. XXV, p. 441). Tezozomoc (Cap. XV, p. 24), and Herrera (Dec. III, lib. II. cap. XIX, p. 75), who copies, evidently, Acosta. Tezozomoc says: "All these were like principal "caciques and titularies ('señores de titulo') in the government and command of the "Mexican tribe, and after them come the Tiacanes, valorous soldiers, surnamed cap- tains, in their order; . . . ." But all those authors substitute "Tlillancalqui," in place of "Cuauhnochtli." Nevertheless, we have ventured to accept "Cuauhnochtli," since "Tlillancalqui" (from "Tlilli," black object, "tlan," affixum denoting place, and "tlacatl," man), man of the black place or black house, denotes a *civil and religious office*, and not a warrior proper. Durán says: "We must know that there was an idol "of blackness, and that of this idol, and of his house, came forth the title for this "chief." Acosta affirms positively that the three first named titles were "those of war- riors" ("eran de guerreros"). On the other hand, "Cuauhnochtli" is frequently men- tioned, both by Tezozomoc and by Durán, as "captain-general," and the bishop of Santo Domingo. Ramirez de Fuenleal, in his letter to Charles V, dated Mexico, 3 Nov., 1538, says: "An officer, called Guamuchil, fills the office of 'alguacil mayor!'" (Coll. Ternaux-Compans: "Recueil de Pièces relatives à la conquête du Mexique," p. 249). Torquemada, also, after calling "Cuauhnoctli" a "judge," calls him subsequently a chief executioner (Lib. XI, cap. XXV, pp. 362 and 364). Finally, Tezozomoc (Cap. XXXVI, p. 87), after enumerating the principal chieftains of Mexico, "three of which, "Cuauhnoctli, Tlacatecatl, and Tlacochcalcatl, called Chachi as much as any of the "others, and who, for their high valor, had their hair bound behind the occiput with "red leather."

The "Chachi" of Tezozomoc are identical with the "Quachictin" of Torquemada (Lib. XIV, cap. V, p. 543), "and one of the highest degrees and honors which could be "attained was to be allowed to tie [illegible] hair, being the token of great captain, and these "were called Quachictin, which was [illegible] most honorific title given to captains, a title held

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

701 formation regarding the title of the principal war-chief of Tlatilulco, the names given occasionally being personal.[102]

701 554 The distinctive mark of these chieftains consisted in having the hair tied behind or above the occiput with a strap of red leather;

"by few only." "Cuauhnoctli," therefore, being "Chachi," or "Quachictin," whereas "Tillancalqui" is but a civil or religious chief, as it is furthermore shown by his being sent as a delegate to Cortés, to the coast (Tezozomoc, Cap. CVII, p. 191). I have ventured to substitute the former as one of the four war-chiefs, each commanding the warriors of one of the four great quarters of Mexico. It may be objected that, aside from Tezozomoc, I have not adduced any other direct proof of the actual existence of these four chieftains. I have already alluded to the probable reason why they are not mentioned as such by the sources of Mexican aboriginal history. Their true position, the nature of their office was simply overlooked. But we know that the tribe of Mexico had divided into four quarters; we know, further, that not only in Mexico, but all over Central America, this same division existed, for civil as well as for military purposes. Each of these four great sections must have had, therefore, its civil, and its military [555] head, and it is but natural to admit, that those heads were the *most distinguished warriors of the tribe*, since *merit, and not descendancy or wealth*, entitled alone to *promotion in rank and office*. Therefore the military chiefs of the four quarters must have been the four "chachi" of Mexico. On the other hand, those four dignities were each elective, and not filled by appointment. But, for an election, there must be electors, and a constituency. We know that the "captains were elected (by the kin which they should "command)", and it is but logical to admit that the *four greatest military chiefs* of the tribe were elected to command its *four greatest subdivisions*. Therefore, again, the "chachi" of Tezozomoc must have been the military chiefs of the four quarters of Mexico. Besides, we may ask: Why *four* chiefs, and not any other number? If not that these four principal chieftains corresponded to, and actually represented, a like number of greatest fractions of the whole tribe.

If the older authors observe a certain uniformity in their enumeration of these four chiefs, always beginning with the "Tlacochcalcatl," we must not infer from it that one or the other of the four was inferior or superior to the others. They were all alike in rank, although Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. XXI) places the "Tlacochcalcatl" above the others. The very confusion among some of the statements shows that no reliance can be placed upon their assertions in that respect. (Compare, for inst.: Torquemada, Lib. II, cap. LXII, p. 185, with cap. LXV, p. 189, and lib. IV, cap. 13, p. 379.) It results from all these statements, but especially from the positive and consistent assertions of Tezozomoc, that while the four were equal in rank, it still sometimes happened that one or the other, from age or experience, took the superior command according to emergency. Their influence was even decisive, sometimes, with the head war-chief of Mexico himself. See the part played by "Tlacochcalcatl" in the attack upon Tlatilulco (Tezozomoc, Cap. XLV, p. 73), and the resolute action of "Tlacateccatl" in the battle against the Tarasca of Michhuacan, which occurred in 1477, when he compelled Axayaca to retreat before the victorious enemy (Tezozomoc, Cap. LII, p. 84). Also, the assertion of Acosta (Lib. VI, cap. XXV), "without whose consent he could do nothing."

[102] "Itzquauhtin" is mentioned by Torquemada (Vol. IV). This would be "eagle of obsidian," or "flint-eagle." We must always distinguish *personal* names from *titles*. In most cases only the latter were given, and the presumption therefore arises that the *title took the place of the name*. Says my friend Sr. J. M. Melgar y Serrano, of Vera Cruz: "Creo deber aconsejar a V no tome como nombres de las personas muchas [554] "de las palabras con que estaban designadas, pues eran el que se los daban el titulo "del cargo que tenian." (Letter under date of 26 January, 1875.)

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

a distinction reserved exclusively for them and for the head war-chiefs of the Mexican tribe.[103]

Highest in military command, as head war-chief of the Mexican tribe, was the "chief of men" ("Tlaca-tecuhtli"),[104] represented to us as the king or emperor[105] of Mexico. But he was neither a monarch nor an autocrat, nor a despot. Elected out of a certain kin or descendancy[106] for life, but upon the condition of good behaviour, he could be deposed and degraded, should he incur the

[103] Tezozomoc (Cap. XXXVI, p. 57). Torquemada (Lib. XIV, cap. V, p. 543). Acosta (Lib. VI, cap. XXVI, p. 434). "Los mas preeminentes destos eran, los que tenian "atada la corona del cabello con una cinta colorada, y un plumaje rico, del qual col-"gauan unos ramales hazia las espaldas con unas borlas del mismo al cabo; estas "borlas eran tantas en numero, quantas hazañas auia hecho. Desta orden de Caualle-"ros era el mismo Rey tambien, y assi se hallaba pintado, con esto genero de plumajes, "y en Chapultepéc, donde estan Motecuma y su hijo esculpidos en unas peñas que son "de ver, ..." Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. XXI) condenses the statement of Acosta only. Humboldt ("Vues des Cordillères, etc.," Vol. I): "il (Montezuma) a les cheveux "réunis au sommet de la tête, et liés avec un ruban rouge, distinction militaire des prin-"ces et des capitaines les plus vaillants." The figure is from the "Codex anonymous," of the Vatican.

[104] This title is given by Tezozomoc, and also by Ramirez de Fuenleal, in Ternaux-Compans ("Recueil de pièces," p. 247): "Mutizuma portait le nom de 'tacatecli,' "'tetuan,' 'jutlacal.'" It is easy to discern "tlacatecuhtli," and "tlatoani,"—of the latter title we shall hereafter speak. Also: "Il existe parmi eux une espèce de chef à "qui ils donnent le nom de tacatecle ou tlatuan."

[105] The Mexican language has no word for emperor (Molina I, p. 51). But Tezozomoc renders the expression "cemanahuac tlatoani" by "emperor of the world." It signifies, however, simply "speaker for what dwells near the water."

[106] The question of succession in office among the Mexicans is a very difficult one. Still, it certainly never descended from father to son, but was always transmitted by election, either to a brother or to a nephew of the former incumbent. The manner of electing the "Tlaca-tecuhtli" of Mexico is very fully described by Sahagun: "When "the king or lord died, all the senators, called Tecutlatoques, and the old men of the "tribe, called Achcacauhtli, and also the captains and old warriors, called Tautequioa-"ques, and other prominent captains in warlike matters, and also the satraps (priests), "called Tlenamacsque and Papaoaqui,—all these assembled in the royal houses. "There they deliberated and determined upon who had to be lord, and chose one of "the most noble of the descendancy (lineage) of the past lords, who would be a val-"iant man, experienced in warlike matters, daring and brave, who should not drink "wine, should be prudent and wise, raised in the Calmecac, a good speaker, of good "understanding, esteemed and loving. When they agreed upon one, they at once nom-"inated him as lord, but this election was not made by ballot or votes, but, all confer-"ring together, they at last agreed upon the man." Durán (Cap. XI, p. 103), speaking of the four war-chiefs: "y muerto el rey, de aquellos auia de ser electo Rey y no de otros, "y tampoco podian ser puestos en este cargo y ditados sino eran hijos ù hermanos de "reyes; . . . . nunca heredaron los hijos, por via de herencia, los ditados ni los "señorios, sino por election." "Y assi nunca salia de aquella generacion aquel ditado "y señorio, eligiéndolos poco a poco." Acosta (Lib. VI, cap. XXIV, p. 431): "Lo pri-"mero en que parece auer sido muy politico el govierno de Mexicanos, es en el orden "que tenian, y guardauan inviolablemente de eligir Rey." Whether we are authorized to go any further than to say that the Tlatatecuhtli had to belong to a certain kin, is very doubtful.

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

displeasure of the tribe.[107] He was but the commander-in-chief of the Mexican warriors; an office which, among a nation so essentially warlike, was of the highest importance and rank, and which might have procured to the incumbent an influence tending to impair the freedom of its institutions. But there was a wholesome check placed upon such encroachments by the commanding war-chief, through the election of an associate, which carried the singular and strange title of "snake-woman," or "female-snake" ("Cihua-cohuatl") and who, while being more of a civil chieftain, still alternated with him in command, as emergency required.[108] Through this arrangement, the tribe of Mexico became always provided with at least one military head, and if the "chief of men" was out leading a foray, the "Cihua-cohuatl" remained at the pueblo, or vice-versa. The chief command of a campaign, could, besides, be delegated by them to a subordinate leader.[109]

We know too little of the office of "Cihua-cohuatl" to enter into any details regarding it. The "chief of men," however, has become famous in history through the last three incumbents of the office,[110] It required an extraordinary man, among the tribe, to fill it. He was to be "an earnest and sober man" (says Sahagun), "wise, affable, and a fluent speaker." But especially was he required to be one of the most prominent warriors, who had given proofs of undaunted bravery, ability, and of great circum-

[107] Montezuma was deposed during his life-time, and Cuitlahua was appointed his successor. Bernal-Diez (Vedia II, p. 132, cap. CXXVI): when they spoke to Montezuma they said: "Hacemosos saber que ya hemos levantado á un vuestro primo por "señor, ... y alli le nombró cómo se llamaba, que se decia Coadlauaca, señor "de Iztapalapa, que no fué Guatemuz, el cual desde á dos meses fué señor." Cortés (Note 2 to "Segunda Relacion," p. 42, Vedia I): "Los Indios le mataron por cobarde." Torquemada (Lib. IV, cap. LXVIII, p. 494, and cap. LXX, p. 497). Herrera (Dec. II, lib. X, cap. X, p. 267).

[108] The "Cihua-cohuatl" (from "cihuatl," woman, and "cohuatl," snake) is variously designated as "vice-roy," "captain-general," "supreme judge," "coadjutor of the king," "second king." He was a warrior, too, and during the siege officiated as commander in chief, together with Quauhtémotzin. It results from the statement of Torquemada (Lib. XI, cap. XXV, p. 332) that he was equal to the so-called "king." What the exact functions of this office were, it is not here the place to discuss; it is sufficient for the purpose of this essay, to determine that there were, in all likelihood, two head-chiefs of the Mexican tribe, or two principal war-chiefs, like those of the Iroquois. The "Cihuacohuatl," according to Tezozomoc, was also elective.

[109] Thus we see, sometimes "Tlacochcalcatl," then again "Tlacatecoatl," and "Cuauhnochtli," made commanders-in-chief.

[110] These were: Montezuma II (Motecuhzuma Xocoyotzin), Cuitlahuatzin, and Quauhtemotzin.

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

spection.[111] Therefore, he was always one of the four great war-chiefs of the quarters[112] previous to his election, and his war-dress differed in fact but little from that of the latter. As we have already stated, he wore the hair bound up behind the occiput with red leather, and on his helmet or on the bare head a towering bush of green feathers.[113] A long and wide mantle covered his armour, which was otherwise similar to that of the other chiefs.[114] But his ear-rings of gold,[115] and the green stone-pendant from the bridge of his nose,[116] the golden lip-ring,[117] his wristbands of featherwork and leather,[118] the upper-arm-bands of gold,[119] the

[111] Sahagun (Historia Universal, Lib. II, cap. VI, p. 264): "El capitan general tiene "por su oficio, mandar en la batalla, y dar orden y manera para efectuarla, y concertar "los escuadrones, teniendose por grande aguila y leon, y presumiendo de ser victo-"rioso por los buenos aderezos con que va adornado á la guerra á manera de aguila, y "dando á entender que su oficio es morir en la guerra por los Suyos." Acosta (Lib. VI, cap. XXIV, p. 431): "Ordinarily they elected young men for their kings, because "the kings always went to war, and it was almost the principal object of this office; "therefore they looked to their being proper to military duty, and fond of it, also." Mendieta (Lib. II, cap. XXVII, p. 132): "Tenian estos naturales en mucho cuando su "señor era esforzado y valiente, porque teniendo tal señor capitan, salian con mucho "ánimo á la guerra." (Idem) "Demas de esto, tenian respeto entre los hijos á aquel "que en las guerras se habia mostrado animoso, y á este elegian." Torquemada (Lib. XI. cap. XXVII, p. 257).

[112] Durán (Cap. XI, p. 103): "A estos quatro señores y ditados, despues de electos "principes los hacian del consejo real como presidentes y oydores del consejo supremo, "sin parecer de los quales ninguna cosa se auia de hacer, y muerto el rey, de aquellos auia de ser electo Rey y no de otros." Acosta (Lib. VII, cap. XXV, p. 441): "Todos "estos ditados eran del consejo supremo, ... ; y muerto el Rey, auia de ser "eligido por Rey, hombre que tuuiesse algun ditado destos quatro."

[113] This distinction was worn by the Indian chiefs of Mexico at least twenty years after the conquest. See, in Vol. II. of Sr. Icazbalceta's "Coleccion de Documentos:" "Relacion de la Jornada que hizó Don Francisco de Sandoval Acazitli, Cacique y Señor "natural que fué del pueblo de Tlalmanalco, Provincia de Chalco, con el Señor Visorey "Don Antonia de Mendoza, etc., etc." (in 1541). "Don Francisco Acazitli llevó por "divisa y armas cuando fué á la guerra de los chichimecas, una calavera de plumeria "con sus penachos verdes, una rodela de lo mismo, y en ella un bezote de oro retor-"cido, con su espada y su ichcahuipil, y vestido con un jubon colorado, y sus zara-"güelles, zapatos y borceguies, y un sombrero blanco, y un pañuelo grande con que "se amarraba la cabeza, y un collar de pedreria con dos cadenas" (p. 307). (Idem, p. 235) "Relacion de la Entrada de Xuño de Guzman," by Garcia del Pilar. "Y viendose "asi los señores destas comarcas, que eran Tapiezuela, señor desta cibdad, y el señor "de Tatelulco, y el de Guaxucingo, y el de Tascaltectle, y otros muchos señores y prin-"cipales destas comarcas, le fueron á rogar y suplicar, ... que se sirviese de "todas sus divisas que eran de oro y de plumas verdes muy galanas, ..." Also (Relacion de Acazitli, p. 311. "con su divisa de quetzalpatzatli de plumeria verde").

[114] Durán (Cap. XXVI, p. 213).

[115] "nacochtli" (Molina, I. p. 91).

[116] "Yacaxiuitl," from "Yacatl," nose, "xiuitl," turquoise, or fine green stone in general.

[117] "tenteti," from "tentli," lips, and "tetl," stone.

[118] "matzopetzli" (Molina, II. p. 84). "braçalete."

[119] "matemecatl," "braçalete [illegible], o cosa semejante" (Molina, II, p. 53).

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

701 643 293 golden tubes enclosing his ankles,[120]—they were all of a more elaborate workmanship, and only he and the "Cihua-cohuatl" were entitled to wear them thus.[121]

554 But the distinctive mark of either of them on the field of battle was a long tress or braid of featherwork (the "Quachiatli") hanging down from the occiput to the waist or girdle.[122] Besides, they carried a small drum, on which they gave signals to their men.[123]

000 A very fair representation of this costume, especially of the characteristic headdress, is found at Palenqué, in the beautiful figures on the bas-reliefs of the "altar," and "tablet of the cross." These tablets and figures show, in dress, such a striking analogy with what we know of the military accoutrements of the Mexicans, that it is a strong approach to identity.[124]

[120] "Coscatl," or "coscapetlatl," or "cozehuatl." "Cozcatl" is a jewel, or a chain, or a collar, hung with precious stones.

[121] The "king" and the "cihuacohuatl" both wore the same dress and ornaments. Durán (Cap. XXVI, p. 215): "Ordenose que solo el rey y su coadjutor Tlacaciel pudiesen "traer çapatos en la casa Real" (p. 216). "Iten, que solo el rey, y los reyes de las pro- "vincias y grandes señores pudiesen usar de braçaletes de oro y de calcetas de oro en "las gargantas de los piés, y ponerse en los piés cascabeles de oro à piés y guirnaldas "y cintas de oro a' la cauecça con plumería." Every Mexican tribe had this duality of the chief military office, as Tezozomoc distinctly states. Besides, it appears also distinctly in Central America. The "Popol-Vuh" mentions "Hun-Came" and "Vuku'- Camé" as the two chiefs of "Xibalba." (Part II, cap. I, p. 173) "Then they all took "advice together, and these: 'Hun-Camé' and 'Vucub-Camé,' are the chief judges." (Also, Cap. LXII.) See Herrera (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XVIII, p. 141.) A similar duality was found among the Itzaes inhabiting Lake Peten, when they were conquered by Ursua, in 1698. "Canek" and "Quincanek" were the titles of the two chiefs. They called each other cousins. ("Historia de la conquista de la provincia de el Itza, re- "ducion y progressos de la de el Lacandon, etc., etc.," by Juan de Villagutierre Soto-mayor. Madrid, 1701.)

[122] The term "Quachiatli" is from Torquemada (Lib. XIV, cap. V, p. 543). Molina has no mention of this word. Clavigero describes it, without giving a name, as "a very "goldie piece of featherwork, hanging down the entire back" (Lib. VII, cap. XXII). See, also, Tezozomoc (Cap. LXXVI, p. 129).

[123] Clavigero (Lib. III, cap. XVIII). Tezozomoc (Cap. LXXVI, p. 129). Mendieta (Lib. II, cap. XXVI, p. 130). Durán (Cap. XXXV) p. 277: "y yendo el rey Axayacatl "victorioso tocando un tambor de oro que à las espaldas llevaba, lo qual se usaba "quando iba en alcence." (Idem, Cap. XLVI, p. 372) "y à las espaldas un atambor de "oro, con que los reyes hazian señal al arremeter y en el retirar, de suerte que los reyes "servian de atambor, o sus generales, los quales tocauan al arma y à recoger de los "exercitos."

[124] Especially the left hand figure of the so-called "altar-piece." The right hand figure may be a priest, but we would suggest that both figures are those of *chiefs*, one representing the equivalent to the "Tlaca-tecuhtli," and the other,—the right hand figure,—the equivalent to the "Cihuacohuatl." (See: "Travels in Central America, "Yucatan, and Chiapas," by J. Stephens; also, the plates from Dupaix, in Lord Kingsborough.) Count Mimutoli ("Beschreibung einer alten Stadt in Guatimala." Berlin, 1832) has: Tab. I, a fair representation of the "tablet of the cross," also. The left hand figure is evidently a chieftain of the highest grade, as the "Quachiatli" of Torquemada,

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

Both the "chief of men," and his "*coadjutor*," the "Cihuacohuatl," while exercising, under certain extraordinary circumstances, discretionary powers in military matters, were still subject to a *higher* authority. This was the *council of chiefs*[125] ("tlatocan"), of which they were, ex-officio, members, with the additional title of "speakers" ("tlatoani"), and occupying, therefore, the "speaker's-seat" ("tlatoca-ycpalli").[126] In this council the *ultimate power of government* was vested, its functions were equally *legislative* and *judiciary;* the execution of its decrees belonged to the war-chiefs. *Peace and war* lay in its hands, the war-chiefs alone could not decide upon either.[127] The existence of this council as

is plainly recognizable. In all those figures of Central American reliefs we discern the characteristic parts of the Mexican costume: the breech-cloth ("maxtlatl") and the head-dress. Several of them have the jacket. "huepil," and the chiefs have, as ornaments, the "coscatl," the "matzopetztli," and especially, the ear-rings and the towering plumage. Lip-pendants and nose-rings are very prominent on the statues of Copan. An illustration of the costume of the two chiefs, both being dressed exactly alike, is given by Durán on plate 8 (to chapter 22 of the first part of his work). Axayaca is also represented in full armour on plates 10 and 11.

[125] The word is from Molina (Vocab. II, p. 141,—"tlatocan,"—"corte ò palacio de "grandes señores." Id. I, p. 30, "consejo real," "tlatocanecentlalilistli"). It derives from "ni-tlatoa," to speak. A very good illustration of this council is found in the "Popol-Vuh" (Part II, cap. VIII), notwithstanding the diffuse language, we can easily discern how the council of chiefs was constituted at "Xibalba," "Hunahpu," and "Xbalanqué," upon their arrival at the council-hall, found there twelve chiefs, the names of which are all given (p. 147). After Montezuma was captured and brought to Spanish quarters "there were always in his company twenty great lords and compan-"ions and councillors" (Bernal-Diez, Cap. XCV, p. 96, vol. II, Vedia). These were probably the members of the supreme council.

[126] "Tlatoani,"—"hablador, ò gran señor" (Molina, II, p. 141). Bernal-Diez says (Cap. XXXVIII, p. 38, Vedia. II) that when they arrived at San Juan de Ulúa: "vini-"eron dos canoas muy grandes, ... y en ellas viniéren muchos Indios Mejica-"nos, y como vieron los estandartes y navío grande, conocieron qué allí habian de ir á "hablar al capitan, y fuéronse derechos al navío, y entran dentro y preguntan quien era "el Tlatoan, que en su lengua dicen el señor." Señor Icazbalceta, in his note No. 36 (p. 12 of Vol. II of "Coleccion de Documentos") defines "Tlatoani" as follows: " . . . " . era la denominacion que se daba á los superiores y gobernantes, equivalente á "la antigua nuestra señor, y con la cual llamaban á los españoles." ("Real Ejecutoria "de S. M. sobre Tierras y Reservas de Pechos y Paga, perteneciente á los caciques de "Axapusco, de la Jurisdiccion de Otumba.") "Tlatoca-ycpalli," from "tlatoca," and "icpalli," stool.

[127] The fact of the supremacy of the council in all matters is amply proven (Durán, Cap. XIV, p. 117; cap. XVI, p. 133). Acosta (Lib. VI, cap. XXV, p. 441): "All these "four titularies were of the supreme council, without whose advice the king neither "made, nor could make, anything of importance." But especially the remarkable paragraph from Torquemada (Lib. XI, cap. XXV, p. 332), speaking of the "Cihuacohuatl:" "Este Juez parece tener veces, y autoridad de Virrei, á los quales comunica el Rei au-"toridad absoluta, para governar, y despachar negocios, cometidos a su sola, y abso-"luta determinacion, ... pues en cosas de su Govierno, *conoce la audiencia, que "toda junta se hace persona de Rei, y con su autoridad la pueden reprimir, y reprimen.*" It is unfortunate that we have not any definite and detailed knowledge of the composition of this council. All we can say positively is, that it existed, and was supreme.

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

174 618 The existence of *twenty* autonomous consanguine groups is thus revealed, and we find them again at the time of the conquest,

565 618 "Obsidian-Snake" (*Itzcohuatl*), we have twenty-five chiefs in all. Now we cannot fail to notice:—

[70] (1). "Itzcohuatl," the "chief of men" or head-war-chief.

(2). "Tlacochcalcatl," "Tlacatecatl," "Ezhuahuacatl," and "Cuauhnochtli," the four military leaders of the four great quarters ("phratries") of Tenochtitlan. (See "*Art of War*," pp. 120, 121, and 122, also notes 97 to 101 inclusive.)

(3). "Tlilancalqui"—"Man of the black-house," a chief connected with "medicine" or worship, as I shall hereafter show. He was rather a counsellor or advisor, than a captain, as *Acosta* (Lib. VI, cap. XXV, p. 441), and *Herrera* (Dec. III, lib. II, cap. XIX, p. 75) positively state, whereas *Durán* (Cap. XI, p. 106) asserts the religious origin of his office.

(4). "Tlacaellel," who, as Durán and Tezozomoc both repeatedly and plainly assert, was the snake-woman or "Cihuacohuatl." In this instance, however, he is graced with the title of "man of the house of darts" ("Tlacochcalcatl"), and thus made one of the four leaders of the "phratries." This is an evident mistake, as the latter title belonged to Montezuma (the first, or "old one"). Compare *Torquemada* (Lib. II, cap. XXXVI, p. 140; cap. XLIII, p. 156, where he is called "captain-general"), *Vetancurt* (Part II, Trat. I, cap. XV, p. 283), also *Durán* (Lam. 6a, Parte Ia).

(5). Twenty war-chiefs, each one of whom commanded the warriors of one kin or calpulli, hence they were the military leaders of twenty Mexican kins. Besides the indications to that effect furnished by *Durán* (Cap. XXVII, p. 224), "á los señoríos de los *calpules* no los vimos ni nos hablaron," said the sorcerers which had been sent to Huitzilopochtli's mother, after she had asked them about the chiefs or captains, seven in number, which had led the Mexicans originally, (see note 33). *Tezozomoc* ("Crónica," Cap. XV, pp. 24 and 25), while corroborating the statements of Durán (with the exception that he omits the chief "Mexicatltecatli," and thus gives only twenty-seven chieftains), inserts the following explanation about these twenty (or twenty-one after Durán) captains: "After these four (the four first ones), go the Tlacanes, called valorous soldiers, surnamed captains." The "Tlacan" or "tlacauh," properly "teachcanhtin," *Elder brother*, was the military chief of each "barrio" or "calpulli," therefore of each *kin* ("*Art of War*," p. 119, notes 91, 92, and 93), consequently these twenty chieftains represent here as many consanguine relationships composing the tribe of the ancient Mexicans.

It will be noticed, however, that Durán has twenty-one chiefs, whereas we assume but twenty, according to Tezozomoc. The latter omits "Mexicatl-tecutli" and, perhaps properly too. This word signifies but "Mexican chief," in general, and cannot therefore well be the title of one particular leader. It recurs occasionally in the course of Mexican history. Still, this is only a suggestion on my part, for the matter is far from being proven. *Torquemada* (Lib. IV, cap. CII, p. 371) mentions "*Mexicatl-achcauhtli*" among the chiefs who went with Quauhtemotzin before Cortés on the day after the resistance of the Mexicans had ended. Again Tezozomoc mentions two chiefs of the same title "Cuauhquiauacatl," as also does Durán. Now this would be impossible, since Tezozomoc calls the second one of that name, a son of "Cuauhnochtli." It may be now that the latter author has omitted the "Mexicatl-tecutli," and that "Cuauhquiauacatl" is to be counted but once. It results from the statements of Vetancurt already alluded to, that there were twenty Mexican "calpulli," consequently there were but twenty leaders of kins. The analogy between these "barrios" and the chiefs of Durán and Tezozomoc is greatly increased by the fact that for the three chiefs of Culhuacan mentioned by the latter, we have also three barrios of "Otomites," therefore, in each case but seventeen original kins of Mexicans proper (*Vetancurt* "Crónica," Vol. III, p. 122).

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

to the relative positions occupied by both officers, and merely advert, here, to the fact, that, since the latter has commonly been called a monarch, the designations of "coadjutor to the King," "second-King," previously quoted, are explained, though not justified. The same explanation applies to the title of "vice-roy," or "royal lieutenant." 643

Finally, the "Cihuacohuatl" was ex-officio commander-in-chief of the Mexicans proper, whenever his colleague directed the entire confederate force.[222] If, however, this was not the case, then the

XXXIII. p. 88): "De la manera que fué vestido y aderezado Moctezuma, lo fueron tambien Zihuacoatl y Tlacaelel[tzin];" (Cap. XXXVI. p. 38): "pues estos dos eran los que havian de tener calles, que eran Moctezuma, Zihuacoatl y Tlacaelel[tzin], como segunda persona del rey, porque se entendiése havian de ser temidos de todos los grandes del imperio;" (Cap. XL, p. 66). Speech of Tlacaelel: "tocante á lo que tratais del señorio, yo siempre lo he tenido y tengo, ... porque yo como segunda persona que siempre fui del rey y de los reyes pasados, etc." Further quotations from this author would become too numerous, consequently too bulky. Besides these sources, to which should be added *Joseph de Acosta* ("*Hist. nat. y moral.*" Lib. VII, cap. XVII. p. 496, Cap. XVIII, p. 498), we find significant testimony in two authors who certainly did not gather their information at the source, from which the above series of authors obtained theirs. I refer to *Juan de Torquemada* ("*Monarchia Indiana*," Lib. XI, cap. XXV, p. 252): "Aquí parece lo mismo, que reservando el Rei Mexicano para sí, la autoridad Real, le hace su igual en la Judicatura." *Velancurt* ("*Teatro Mexicano*," Parte IIa, Tratado II°, cap. I, p. 269): "Tan absoluta era la autoridad que le daba, que reservando el rey en sí la autoridad real, era en la judicatura igual." In regard to the fact that both chiefs wore the same characteristic ornaments and dress, see *Durán* (Lámina 8a to Cap. XXIII of Trat. I°), also "*Codex Telleriano-Remensis*," comparing it with the head-dress of the leading figure of the sculptures on the rim of the cylinder known as the "stone of sacrifice," in the Museo Nacional of Mexico.

[222] "*Codice Ramirez*" (pp. 59, 60, 61, 62 and 63), treating of the "capitan-general Tlacaelel:" haziendo hazañas dignas de gran memoria por medio de su general Tlacaelel." The war against Chalco was waged by the Mexicans *and* their confederates, therefore we read (p. 4): "Y así fué que acudiendo este Rey en personas á la guerra." (P. 67) his office was: "de capitan-general y segundo de su corte. . . *Durán* (Cap. XVII, pp. 147 and 148). war against Chalco, when both chiefs went along. (Cap. XVIII. p. 156), foray against Tepeaca. both chieftains in the field, as both Mexicans and confederates participated. (Cap. XIX). against the Huaxteca. (Cap. XXII, p. 188): "Tlacaelel, príncipe de la milicia," in the raid against Coayxtlahuacan. In place of Tlacaelel, "era ya viejo y que no podria ya ir á guerra tan apartada," Cuauhnochtli commanded the Mexicans. The most explicit and positive author of all is *Tezozomoc* ("*Crónica Mexicana*," Cap. XIX, p. 82, Cap. XXI, p. 89): "Zihuacoatl Tlacaelel[tzin] general y *oydor*."—"y su presidente y capitan-general Zihuacoatl Tlacatlel[tzin]." In regard to the protracted hostilities against the tribe of Chalco, it is stated that the "Cihuacohuatl" alone commanded (Cap. XXII, p. 84); but it follows from p. 85, that after the first bloody though indecisive fight, the allies were called upon for assistance, although Tezozomoc says it was only a delegation to insure their quiet. This explains the contradiction between him and the two preceding authors. In (Cap. XXIV, p. 87), he acknowledges that Moctezuma Ilhuicamina went along, together with Cihuacohuatl. The fact, that the conquest of Chalco was made by the Mexicans, with the assistance of allies, is conceded by other authors. See *Torquemada* (Lib. II, cap. XLIV and L). *Ortega* ("Apendice" to Veytia, Cap. III, pp. 340-343). Therefore the Cihuacohuatl commanded the Mexicans. In the foray against Tepeaca and Tecamachalco, the confederate forces sallied out, (Cap. XVII): "cada uno con su capitan y 701

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

643 latter led the Mexicans in person, or a substitute for either of them might take the command.[223] During the last days of aboriginal Mexico, when warriors from different tribes, together with the head-chiefs of Tezcuco and of Tlacopan, crowded into the invested pueblo, the so-called "King of Mexico" appeared as the *confederate* commander, while the "snake-woman" only wielded the authority and performed the duties of "captain-general" of the *Mexican* contingent.[224]

All these different attributes may be united in the functions of one office, namely: that of head-chief of the tribe. As such, we must consider the "Cihuacohuatl," and as such was he recognized by Cortés when in 1521, he created the last "snake-woman" "governor" of the remnants of the Mexican tribe and of the so-called Indian wards within which they "were" subsequently settled.[225]

We have seen that the "snake-woman" was the colleague, or associate in matters of tribal importance, of another officer, who had originally filled his place, but whose sphere of action had been so much extended through the formation of the confederacy, that a colleague became needed in tribal affairs. This officer, commonly entitled "King of Mexico," sometimes even "Emperor of Anahuac," was the "chief of men," "Tlaca-tecuhtli".[226]

[701] capitanes señalados," and both war-chiefs of Mexico were present and in the field (p. 41). Not to increase the volume of quotations beyond measure, I shall simply add that, as the Cihuacohuatl grew older and could not well go to war, other captains took his place. These captains I will refer to hereafter. *Acosta* (Lib. VII, cap. XVIII).

[223] Evidence to that effect is found in *Durán* (Cap. XXII, p. 199), and especially in *Tezozomoc* (Cap. XLVIII, p. 76): "Cuauhnochtli, capitan general." (Cap. LXXI, LXXII and XCI, pp. 168 and 181, etc., etc.). This explains why the title of chief-commander of the Mexicans is so variously stated. See the very sensible remarks of *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. XXI, p. 494, etc.). These chiefs were, in this instance, temporarily appointed, since it was not the creation of an office, but simply a delegation of power for a certain special purpose. When the foray was over, the charge ceased to exist, the war-chief returning to his original rank.

[224] *Cortés* ("*Carta Tercera*," Vedia I, p. 89): E desde a poco volvió con ellos uno de los mas principales de todos aquellos que se llamaba Cihuacoacin, y era el capitan y gobernador de todos ellos, é por su consejo se seguian todas las cosas de guerra." This fact is generally accepted, and needs no further proof.

[225] *Cortés* ("*Carta Quarta*," Vedia I, p. 119). *Petition to Charles V, by four Indian chiefs of Mexico*, June 1st, 1523, in "*Crueutés horribles des Conquérants espagnols*," of Mr. Ternaux-Compans, 1st Series (Appendix, pp. 265, 266 and 269): "Moi, don Hernando de Tapia, je suis fils de Tapia, et ancien Tecutecle, gouverneur de Mexico, sous le marquis del Valle." *Herrera* (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. VIII, pp. 122 and 123). *Bernal Diez del Castillo* (Cap. CLVII, Vedia II, pp. 198 and 199). *Zuazolacta in Carvantis-Salazar* ("*Tres Dialogos*," Introd. to 2d Dialogue, pp. 75 and 76).

[114] [226] I have used this title, perhaps for the first time among recent writers, in "*Art of War*," (p. 122). *Tezozomoc* (Cap. LXXXIII, p. 149). *Ramirez de Fuenleal* ("*Letter*,

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

of as many original kins, common worship, perhaps, and common leadership in battle, were all that remained of the former organic cluster.[673] Rites of worship, as practised by a phratry, it is not the place here to investigate, and the position and functions of the phratry in warfare have already been discussed by us. The office of tribal executioners of justice, however, vested in the "four leaders" of the four phratries, deserves particular attention here.

The names of the four war-captains or rather their official titles, are: "man of the house of darts" (Tlacochcalcatl), "cutter of men" (Tlacatecatl), "bloodshedder" (Ezhuahuacatl), and "chief of the Eagle and prickly pear" (Cuaubnochtecuhtli). These officers are first noticed in the beginning of the fifteenth century, at the time the confederacy was formed.[674] They appear as immediate adjuncts or assistants — military lieutenants as it were — to the "chief of men" then promoted to the position of confederate commander, as well as of the "Cihuacohuatl."[675] Their

[673] These four geographical clusters, each comprising a certain number of original kins or calpulli, became known subsequently as the four Indian wards of Mexico, named respectively, San Juan (Moyotlan), San Pablo (Teopan), San Sebastian (Atzacalco), Santa Maria (Cuepopan). *Tezcucano* (Cap. LIX, p. 98), *Vetancurt* ("*Crónica*," etc., p. 134). *Durán* (Cap. V, p. 42). That each of them comprised a certain number of kins has already been stated. The four chiefs are often mentioned as "concilliore;" but their very position as immediate assistants to the "chief of men," is clearly established by the "*Codice Ramirez*" (pp. 57 and 58), which agrees with *Durán* (Cap. XI, p. 103) and also by *Sahagun* (Lib. XXX. p. 318): "Elegido el señor, luego elegian otros cuatro que eran como senadores que siempre habian de estar al lado de él, y entender en todos los negocios graves del reino," . . . This makes it evident that they must have been war-chiefs, and not representatives, in the supreme council, of an administrative circumscription superior to the "calpulli" — "barrio" or localized kindred group. The four "main quarters" therefore formed *military* bodies only, and this follows plainly from the detailed descriptions of warfare, so profusely given in the chronicles of *Tezcucano*. The truth of this fact has been felt, though not fully understood, by *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. VII, p. 494 and 495) where he hints at the four chiefs (under various names) as so many "classes of generals." These four superior war-captains are, besides, found also in Michhuacan, "*Relacion, etc., etc., Michuacan*" ("Primera Parte," p. 13): "tenia puesto cuatro señores muy principales en cuatro fronteras de la provincia," and in Peru, where they have been decorated with the titles of "vice-roy."

It is interesting to note here that the term "barrio" is applied by Spanish authors indiscriminately to the four great subdivisions and to the kins themselves.

[674] *Durán* (Cap. XI, pp. 97, 103 and 103), *Tezcucano* (Cap. XV, p. 24) both place the organization by which these four chiefs appear prominent, immediately after the overthrow of the Tecpaneca, and before the confederacy with the Tezcucans and Tlacopans. *Ixtlilxochitl* ("*Hist. des Chichimèques*," Cap. XXXIV, p. 290) speaks in general terms of a "reorganization," after the confederacy had been formed. So does *Acosta* (Lib. VII, cap. XVI, p. 460), while "*Codice Ramirez*" (pp. 57 and 58) agrees with the two first.

[675] It is self-evident that these four chieftains were also inferior to the "snake-woman;" and this fact is amply illustrated. *Durán* (Cap. XVI, pp. 140 and 141) con-

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

70 office was, of course, elective and non-hereditary, and the election took place in the same manner and (sometimes, at least) at the same time as that of the "chief of men."[276] In case the latter was unable to lead the confederate forces on the war-path, and the "Cihuacohuatl" himself was not available either, then the posts of chief commander as well as of leader of the Mexicans proper, might be filled by one or the other of them.[277] This, however, was always a temporary situation, and there appears to have been no difference of rank between the four, since the Mexican

[613] cerning "Ezhuahuacatl," Cap. XXII, p. 160): "y luego Tlacaellel, principe de la milicia, mandé en nombre del rey que fuesen apercibidos, etc., etc. . . ." "Llamó el rey á un señor que se llamaua Cuauhnochtli y hizolo general de toda la moltitud diciéndole que Tlacaellel era ya viejo y que no podria ya ir á guerra tan apartada, dándole todas las exenciones y autoridad que semejante oficio requeria, ..." (Cap. XXXIV, p. 287, etc., etc.). *Tezozomoc* (Cap. XVII. p. 27), Tlacaellel, subsequently elected "Cihuacohuatl," was then only "Tlacochcalcatl," and he is, at that time, merely mentioned as "uno de ellos de los capitanes." Still (p. 28) he appears as "capitan general de ellos." (Cap. XXII, p. 34): "Respondió Tlacatleltzin y dijo: quiero dar aviso á Tlacatecatl. y á Tlacochcalcatl, para que publiquen luego en toda esta república esta guerra por los varrios, . . ." (Cap. XXVIII, p. 43): "mandaron el rey Moctezuma y Zihuacoatl, á los capitanes Tlacatecatl, Tlacochcalcatl, Cuauhnochtli. y Tilancalqui, que luego al tercer dia se apercibiesen y pusiesen en camino con sus armas y vitualias," etc., etc. This entire "Crónica" bristles with facts of that kind, too numerous to quote. The fact, amply proven heretofore, that the "Zihuacoatl" was also ex-officio head-war-chief of the tribe of Mexico, is alone sufficient to establish the inferiority of the four others. See "*Codice Ramirez*" (p. 67).

[276] In evidence of this there is the entire series of specifically Mexican authors, starting with the "*Codice Ramirez*" (p. 57): "Primeramente ordenaron que siempre se guardasse este estatuto en la corte Mexicana, y es que despues de electo Rey en ella, eligiessen quatro señores, hermanos ó parientes mas cercanos del mismo Rey, los quales tuviessen ditados de principes: los ditados que entonces dieron á estos quatro al primero [108] . . . (follow the four names and titles). . . ." The same version has been adopted with more or less variation, by *Durán* (Cap. XI, pp. 101 and 103), *Tezozomoc* (Cap. XV, pp. 24 and 25), *Joseph de Acosta* (Lib. VI, cap. XXV, p. 441) and *Herrera* (Dec. III, Lib. II, cap XIX, pp. 75 and 76). Besides, there is the independent version of *Sahagun* (Lib. VIII, cap, XXX and XXXI, pp. 318 and 319), who is even too positive, stating, or at least leading to the inference, that at every election of a "chief of men," the four offices were also newly filled, and invested at the same time. This appears to be a misconception, explained by the Codice Ramirez and by Durán.

It may be in place here to refer to a different version, which reduces the number of these assistants to the "chief of men" to two only. We find it in *Gomara* ("*Conquista*," Vedia I, p. 442): "Las apelaciones iban á otros dos Jueces mayores, que llaman tecuhtlato, y que siempre solian ser parientes del señor . . . ." and also in *Zurita* ("*Rapport*," etc., p. 95). By reference, however, to *Sahagun* (Lib. VI, cap. XX), it will be seen that the celebrated Franciscan speaks of only two of the four which he mentions (Lib. VIII, cap. XXX). These two are "Tlacochcalcatl" and "Tlacatecatl" ("Tlacochtecutli" and "Tlacatecutli" by abbreviation), whom he again calls (Lib. VIII, cap. XXIV, p. 311) "principal captains, of which there were always two," while (Lib. IX. cap I, p. 356) he calls the same, "governors of Tlatilulco." The Tlatilulcan tradition appears very plainly in the writings of the learned friar, which writings have wielded such a vast influence in literature on aboriginal Mexico.

[277] "*Art of War*" (p. 122), *Sahagun* (Lib. VIII, cap. XXIV, p. 311), *Durán* (Cap. XXII, p. 169), *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. XXI, p. 494).

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

chroniclers mention them indiscriminately as military captains of the highest rank. Still, while this fact remains undisputed, we notice among later authors that two of the four, namely: "Ezhuahuacatl" and "Tlacateccatl" are called: "judges."[278] How the duties of a judge sitting permanently, could be performed by a war-chief, is rather difficult to comprehend, whereas those of a chief executioner of judicial decisions agree well with those of a military office, in primitive society. "Cuauhnochtecuhtli" is positively stated to have been "chief executioner" ("alguazil maior") or sheriff."[279] The Codex Mendoza, however, makes all four equal, by calling each of them "executive officer." Samuel Purchas, in his "Pilgrimage," renders this incorrectly by "officer of dispatch."[280] Such was indeed their true position. What the "elder brother" was to the kin, the four great war-captains were to the tribe. To them the judicial decisions of the council were communicated through the "Cihuacohuatl" or the "Tlacatecuhtli," and *they* were intrusted with their execution. Consequently they superintended the maintenance of order and quietness at every place where the tribal authorities exercised control, as, for instance, in the markets, and in the central square encompassing the great "house of God." But they were also the immediate military assistants of the "chief of men," and as such, as far as he exercised any power to punish, they also acted as his "executive officers" when necessary.[281] It is doubtful, however, if the four leaders

[278] The "Tlacatecatl" is called a "Judge," second in jurisdiction only to the "Cihuacohuatl" by *Torquemada* (Lib. XI, cap. XXV, p. 332). The same author calls him a "valiant captain" (Lib. II, cap. LXXVI, p. 211). After this author, he has been called a Judge by *Velancurt* (Parte IIa, Trat II°, cap. I, p. 370), by *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. XVI, p. 481). It is singular to notice that for instance *Velancurt* (Parte IIa, Trat. I°, cap. XVIII, p. 320) mentions that "Water-Rat" ("Ahuitzotl") was "Tlacatecatlo, captain general of the Mexicans." In this he follows *Torquemada* (Lib. II. cap. LXIII, p. 166), who, in turn, agrees with his predecessor, *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXXV and XXXVI, p. 151). The latter is particularly explicit. His statements agree with those of the *Codex Mendoza* (plates XIII and XVIII). "Ezhuahuacatl" is also represented as "alcalde" in the *Codex Mendoza* (plate LXIX, tercera Partida, No. 18), which again represents him as "executor" (plate LXVI, tercera Partida, No. 10). All this tends to show that these officers, besides being principal war-captains, were also executors of judicial decrees.

[279] *Ramirez de Fuenleal* (*Letter*, Mexico, 3 Nov., 1532, "*Premier Recueil*," etc., p. 348): "Un officier, nommé Guzmuchil, remplit les fonctions d'alguazil mayor. . ." *Torquemada* (Lib. XI, cap. XXV, pp. 332 and 333), *Velancurt* (Vol. I, p. 370, etc.), *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. XVI, p. 481). The "*Codex Mendoza*" (plate LXVI, tercera Partida, No. 7) calls him "executor," like "Tlilancalqui" and "Ezhuahuacatl."

[280] *Codex Mendoza* (plates LXVI and LXVIII). In the latter he calls them "Valientes." For the interpretation of Purchas see *Kingsborough* (Vol. VI, pp. 73 and 74).

[281] Instances of that kind are frequently found, both in Durán and Tezozomoc.

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

701 had the right to appoint the assistants whom they needed, beyond sending out subordinates, or rather detailing them on particular errands. As to watchmen in the market-places,—the officers who circulated about preserving peace and order there—they were placed at their posts by the tribe. But it was their duty to report to the chief executive officers, nay, to apply to them for assistance, whenever anything happened which required the exercise of higher power. On the other hand, these subalterns obeyed their orders in the interests of tribal business.

701 643 We have already noticed that, among the four, "Cuauhnochtecuhtli" is most distinctly mentioned as judicial executioner; even prominently before the others. But this officer again is lost sight of at the election of a "chief of men." Then another looms up in his place. This is the "man of the black house," Tlilancalqui. It appears that each of the three first-named positions namely: "Tlacochcalcatl," "Tlacateccatl," "Ezhuahuacatl," was, together with the last-named "Tlilancalqui," a preparatory stage for the office of "chief of men."[262] "One of these four had to be elected king" says the Codex Ramirez.[263] While it is difficult to

[262] This statement rests upon the authority of the "*Codice Ramirez*" (p. 38), which document agrees almost verbally with *Durán* (Cap. XI, p. 103). Aside from *Tezozomoc* (Cap. XV) and *Acosta* (Lib. VI, cap. XXV), who both, though rather vaguely, confirm the above, there are other indications confirming it. For instance: *Codex Mendoza* (plate XI, interpretation or rather text): "Ytem el dicho Tiçocicatl fue por estremo valiente y velicoso en armas, y antes que subcediese en el dicho señorio, hizo por su persona en las guerras cosas hazañosas de valentia, por donde alcançó tomar dictado de Tlacatecatl, que tenia por titulo de gran calidad y estado, y en el punto de que en vacando dicho señorio, el tal punto y grado subcedia luego en el dicho señorio, lo qual assimismo sus antecessores hermanos altres contenidos, y padre, y aguelo tuviéron el mismo curso de los titulos y dictado, por donde subiéron á ser señores de México." Again (plate LXVIII, tercera partida), no difference is made between "Tlacatecatl" and "Tlacochcalcatl;" both are called "valientes" and "capitanes de los exercitos Mexicanos." *Torquemada* (Lib. II, cap. LV, p. 173): "y que Axayacatl, Hijo de Tepoçomoctli (Señor Mexicano) era Hombre Valeroso, y de mui gran fuerte, para el Reinado, fue de comun consentimiento, pasado á esta Dignidad, de la que tenia de Tlacuhcalcatl, y Capitan General, y hecho Rei." (Cap. LXIII, p. 186): "Ahuitzotl, Hermano del Difunto, y de su Antecesor Axayacatl, era Tlacatecatl, ó Capitan General de los Mexicanos. . . ." Thus he acknowledges that both Tlacatecatl and Tlacochtecatl were alike eligible. It is but natural to read similar assertions in *Veytia* (Parte IIa, Trat. I°, cap. XVI, p. 305, cap. XVIII, p. 320), and *Clavigero* (Lib. IV, cap. XVIII, p. 288, cap. XXII, p. 297). This author speaks of the different "chiefs of men" having been "generals in chief" of the Mexicans. Now since (Lib. VII, cap. XXI, p. 404) he states that the "Tlacochcalcatl" was the "principal" among the war-captains, it follows, that the chiefs named by him had all attained that rank. But we know that other authorities frequently give them another title also, therefore the conclusion is but natural that there were *several* head-chiefs for military purposes, etc., from whom the "chief of men" might be chosen.

[263] "*Biblioteca Mexicana*" (p. 36).

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

conceive why the captain "Cuaubnochtecuhtli" should *not* be one of the privileged four, it is easy to understand why the "man of the black house" should be of that number. The dark house, "Casa Lobrega" of Nuñez de la Vega, in Chiapas, plays a conspicuous part in the worship, or "medicine" of the aborigines of Mexico and Central America.[284] The "man of the black, or dark house," was therefore an intermediate between "medicine" and tribal government. As such, he appears to occupy a stage preparatory to the high office of "chief of men," and represents, together with the "satraps and papaoaqui" named by Sahagun,[285] the element of medicine or worship in the election of that officer. "Tlilancalqui" is occasionally, though rarely, mentioned as a war-chief,[286] but missions of importance appear to have been intrusted to him; and Joseph de Acosta calls the three other chiefs "warriors,"[287] to his exclusion: and finally, he is made a confidential advisor in times of great public danger. This is about all we know of this office, in relation to the government of the Mexican tribe.

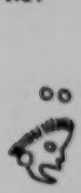
The fact, amply proven as it is, that the "chief of men" had to be selected from among the four chiefs and officers enumerated, bears directly on the nature of the dignity with which the "Tlacatecuhtli" was invested. It fully disposes of the assumptions, that this officer was anything but an Indian war-chief of the highest order, or that heredity was attached to the office, though it does not disprove succession of office limited to any single *kin*. While it thus explains many incidental features of organization and government, it leads us back to the office of "chief of men" and through it, recalls some of the fundamental attributes of the tribe.

[284] *J. H. von Minutoli* ("*Beschreibung einer alten Stadt in Guatemala*," etc., "*Teatro Critico Americano*," by *Feliz Cabrera*, German translation, p. 31): "house of darkness which he (Votan) had built in the space of a few respirations." But the dark house is yet more positively noticed in Guatemala. *Popol Vuh* (Part II. chap. II, p. 85): "Gekuma Ha," from "Gek" black. "*Grammaire QQuiché*" (p. 160). Also (Chap. VIII, p. 147, cap. IX, pp. 148 and 149). It is interesting to notice, in connection with this, that the same gathering of aboriginal traditions also mentions (p. 81) a house filled with lances (darts): "E'oo chicut Chayim-ha u bi, utuquel chakol chupam zakiaiohre chi cha, chi tzisinic, chi yohohic, chiri pa ha." (Cap. IX, p. 134): "qate chicut ta x-e oc chi qabolab pa Chaim-ha." This corresponds with the Mexican "Tlacochcalcatl." Again we are treated (p. 85) to a "house of tigers" also repeated (p. 134), and it is easy to recognise in it a counterpart to the "Tlacatecatl." Thus again the analogy between the Guatemaltecans and the Mexicans, appears sustained to some extent.

[285] "*Historia general*," etc. (Lib. VIII, cap. XXX, p. 318).

[286] By *Tezozomoc*. Quotations are superfluous. See his "*Crónica*."

[287] "*Historia natural y moral de Indias*" (Lib. VI, cap. XXV, p. 441).



721 696 **Twenty-ninth Chapter, in which it is told how these rulers (upon the day sign mentioned) proclaimed war. And at that time were sentenced those who were to die.**[1]

Injc cempoalli on chiquacen capítulo: vncan moteneoa, in quenja ichcantin tlatoque (in ipan in tonalli omoteneuh) iaotlatoaia, ioan vncan tlatzontequjlilcia in mjqujztli ipan casca.

● 701 721 When already the election ceremony had taken place, with festivity,[2] [the newly-elected rulers] disposed themselves for war to be declared. Also in this way it was said that for a second time, in war, the rulers would hold the election ceremony. Then to a considerable degree did the chieftains, the strong, cast their lot with him. They were urged and thrust upon him that they might show him their skill and aid him; so that they might take captives for him. This was because in this way they sought, dedicated themselves to, and gained their drink and food, and their capes, through the help of which they would live and have raiment; and he would honor them, etc. They would become his standard-bearing warriors, who, it was said, courted danger, hurled themselves against the foe, and joined in the fray.

In jquac ie omotecpac tecuanotenalitica: njman ie no cuele oalmotlalia injc iaotlatolo, no ic mjtoa ic oppa iaoc motecpacoa in tlatoanj, iquac cenca ipan mopepena in tiacoaan, in chicoaepoc, ipan netetocholo, nemamalioa, injc qujtlamatilizque, quipalevizque, injc ichoan uel qujtlamaltizque, ipampa ca quixtoca, ipan mjxpoa, quimotetoquilia in jaub, in jtlaqual, in jtilma, injc ipal nemizque, ipallaquemjzque, quinmauizçotiz, Etª. itlaujcecaoan mochioazque in mjtoa: injc aqujtiçotla in jntzontecon, in jmelchiqujuh, teca mocnotla, teujc mopetlatiuj:

696 And it was also said that on this [day sign] One Dog a court of justice was held. Then was sentence pronounced upon those who were to die. And at this time were released and freed those who had done nothing serious. And they absolved of their crimes those who had suffered injustice for no apparent crime or discernible fault, and had served and paid a penalty for it: those who had only wrongly been imprisoned for some invented wrong, who only paid and stoned another's fault or crime, or perhaps served in another's place. Perhaps they imprisoned one for another's fault. So they had been forced into bondage and had become slaves. At once they bathed there at Chapultepec to lay aside their crimes.[3]

ioan mjtoa no ipan tecutlatolcia injn ce itzcujntli, vncan tlatzontequjlilcia in jmpan ca mjqujztli: auh iquac quixtiloia, cacalcia, in amo cenca ovi ic cate, ioan quintlatlacollaçaia, in tlatlacoti, in amo cenca melaoac, in amo uel ixnezquj, in amo cenca uel nezticа ic tlacoti, ic tlanamjquj in aço çan tlapictli qujtzaqua, çan tlapiqujloque, çan ixpopoiotlanamjctiloque, ixpopoiotlanamjcque, aço çan tepan in tlaiccoa, aço çan tecujtl in quitzaqua, injc cujtiloque in victli, mecapalli, injc victique, mecapaltique, iquac njman vmpa onmaaltia, in chapulepec, injc quincaoa, intlatlacul:

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1. Corresponding Spanish text: *"en el mismo cerimoniaua a vnauer, a los que por algũ gran crimen, estauan presos."*

2. *Ibid.*: *"En acabando de hazer la fiesta de la dedicacion de en rebuelo. . . . auia de vnauer la grandeza de su rebuelo."* Cf. also Anderson and Dibble, *loc. cit.*

3. Cf. *Florentine Codex*, Book VI, Chapter xii: *Ma chapulteper vmoalti.* In the Garibay ed., VI, 41, 67, the corresponding Spanish text reads: *"Dauan vnos a bañar a Chapultepec, a quienes podian vnos a bañar a Chapultepec. — Este rebelde dize el que los tenidos algunos gran enfermedad o algun cargo pesado, con dezir de auer libre de aquel cargo o enfermedad, dize: Ma chapultepec nimitzi, que quiere decir, bañarme he yo en aquel rrauda cuando este cargo o enfermedad se me quitare. Chapultepec es una fuente que está cerca de Mexico, muy buena, las que se bañan en ella piensan que les haze dize gran merced. Ad, cibi adagio ex de los mexicanos."*